

**"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION," PUBLISHED BY
AMERICAN FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA,
PA.**

"You may as well open the book and be fully honest
about your plans to begin with."

7. Register and have records of all participants wherever possible.
8. Participation should be based on a written discipline or upon some set of principles or constitution. No exceptions should be made.
9. Problems arise between persons in groups. Boy-girl relationships develop resulting in "sloppy public demonstrations of personal affection. Sloppy clothing should be avoided.
10. Psychological problems arise. If possible, a mature person with experience in family relationships should have a leading role.
11. The white participant in civil rights activities, especially in the "Deep South" faces special problems: how to live with and communicate with Negroes; he may be treated as a second-class participant.

[REDACTED] a symposium entitled "What's Ahead for the American Left?" was held at 124 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, on March 15, 1957. In addition to speakers from the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and other leftist groups, CHARLES WALKER spoke as a representative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group. He stated there is a long way to go before a real socialist movement is established; that the situation is one of human values, not revolution. He noted that the aim is for justice and brotherhood; that secret police, spies, etc., foisted on the people as a temporary emergency, are all part of violence and war itself is the enemy. He stated he desired nonviolent revolution.

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He said that any premature plans for union of socialist groups would fail; the Communist Party has been discredited, and that the American left is safe only by use of nonviolence.

An article in the "Sunday Bulletin," identified above, issue of December 15, 1963, captioned "Quakers Provide the Mainspring of the Peace Movement Here" quoted CHARLES WALKER as saying "The Communist Movement in the United States is dead, they have no influence.." The article notes that WALKER is a Quaker who was sentenced to four years imprisonment during World War II as a conscientious objector.

The manual then discussed public relations and suggests brief biographical sketches of well-known civil rights leaders, press releases, news media, etc. It instructs that press releases should read like a news story and should include Who, What, Where, When and Why in the first sentence or two.

The following suggestions for publicity campaigns are included:

Keep leaflets readable, down to earth, use English suited to the locale, don't promise what you can't deliver.

The manual then outlines a suggested format for a meeting:

1. Call to order
2. Minutes of previous meeting
3. Summary of correspondence
4. Reports of special officers
5. Handle old or unfinished business
6. New business
7. Good and welfare
8. If no further business, adjourn

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Citizenship and Voter Registration (Chapter 3)

The manual states... "in much of the South repression is the law, oppression a way of life, and veering from the path of 'our way of life' is not tolerated at all. Here an independent idea is subversion that must be squelched, for each bit of intellectual initiative represents a threat. Negroes have learned what is necessary for immediate survival: that silence is safest, so volunteer nothing and tell 'them' only what they want to hear... ... Your job: to help them begin to question... to help the people see this hope, and inspire them to go after it..

Suggestions for teaching and "discussion leadership" in a community involved in a civil rights problem include: relation of subject matter to participants' level of understanding; keep classroom atmosphere informal; prepare presentation carefully; lead but do not dominate discussion; encourage participation by everyone.

The manual then sets up a typical budget for a three week voter registration project involving 20 persons plus two leaders. The total is \$800 plus travel expenses.

The manual notes that in many Southern states there are percentage wise as many poor whites, excluded from politics as Negroes; that in the 1870's and 1880's there was a powerful alliance in the South between the poor whites and the ex-slave population. The final objective of current campaigns to re-franchise the Negro and poor white is to resurrect that alliance, to forge a political force in the South which will be liberal, pro-trade union, pro-civil rights. This coalition will have to do away with the present Dixiecrat blockade of progressive legislation in Washington, D.C.

Workshop in Direct Action (Chapter 4)

Workshops may involve lecture and theories as part of the schedule, but the real aim is practice.

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Five good reasons for workshops are listed:

1. To practice skills
2. To understand your opponents
3. To build up morale
4. To get rid of tensions
5. To make for more democracy.

"Role-playing" or "socio-drama" involves two or more persons spontaneously acting out roles in the context of real problems which the group faces. The leader defines the problem, sets the scene, casts the characters, commences the action and ends it when the point has been made.

Several "scenarios" of role playing are included in the manual.

One example concerns an eviction. A group of civil rights demonstrators is blocking access to a tenement to prevent a constable from evicting a tenant who has been participating in a rent strike. The constable and several citizens urge the group to obey the law and move out of the way; then the constable and the police officer threaten the group with arrest if they do not move.

The workshop leader then discusses the above set of facts with the participants and might ask questions such as: How do the demonstrators respond to the other citizens and to the constable? How do they respond to the officer?

A cast is then selected of three or four demonstrators, two or three citizens, a constable, one or more police officers who then act out the parts assigned them.

Other sample scenarios are "The Congressman," "The Barber Shop," "The Magistrate's Court," "The Cell," "The Picket Line," and "The March."

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**Direct Action Tactics
(Chapter 5)**

The manual states that one catalog of nonviolent action lists 64 different methods of nonviolence which have been used historically.

The manual lists those which appear to be most significant for the current civil rights struggle.

1. Marches and parades.

The manual states that a common method of discrediting marches and parades is to describe them as disorderly and violent. Two steps can eliminate the validity of this charge (A) Either silence or singing in unison (B) Set up a system of leadership, including a marshal and a number of line leaders.

2. Picketing and vigiling.

The difference between picketing and a vigil is that a vigil is longer and is held in a meditative spirit. Often a vigil is held around-the-clock for several days.

The manual lists a "Sample Discipline" for pickets which includes:

- (a) Attitude of good will in face of provocation
- (b) Nonretaliation to violence
- (c) Abide by decisions of person in charge
- (d) If arrested, submit with promptness and composure
- (e) Promptness in appointments and carrying out of assigned tasks.

Suggestions offered to organize an effective picket line include:

- (a) Assemble somewhere other than where picket will be,

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then go to place in group.

- (b) Refer questioners, press, or police to person in charge
- (c) Walk erectly, be careful in use of language, no profanity, etc.
- (d) Assign two leafleteers to each location so leafleting can continue if one leafleteer becomes involved with a questioner.
- (e) Pick up discarded leaflets (to avoid charges of littering, etc.)
- (f) Avoid unnecessary scurrying about.

3. Fraternization.

Used in countries occupied by a foreign power. This was effective in some instances in Norway under Nazi occupation.

4. "Haunting"

This is a means of reminding officials of the immorality of their behavior; volunteers follow them everywhere they go. In India, during Gandhian struggles, arrests were made but volunteers "haunted" the authorities until they were sick of it.

5. Leafleting

6. Renouncing honors

i.e. Negro students might send back American Legion School Awards; Negro veterans might send back Medals of Honor.

Noncooperation can take several forms including:

7. Strike

8. "Hartal"

This involves staying at home a full day or more. This shows unity and self-discipline. The populace used this device during

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the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

9. Consumers' boycott

i.e. Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott

10. Renters boycott

Refusal to pay rent because of grievances against landlord.

11. School boycott

12. Tax refusal

"Why pay the police who are beating you?"

Direct nonviolent intervention includes:

13. Sit-ins

14. The fast

Gandhi was the best example of this technique.

15. Reverse strike

i.e. The unemployed in Sicily in 1956 voluntarily repaired a public road that was badly in need of repair in order to call attention to severe unemployment in the area and the government's failure to deal with it.

The manual states "... although this method looks harmless enough at first glance, it has in practice been regarded as a sufficient threat so that reverse strikers have been arrested, imprisoned and even in some cases shot by police attempting to stop them from working!..."

16. Nonviolent interjection and obstruction

This involves placing one's body between another person and the objective of his work.

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One of the most dramatic and highly publicized examples of this technique occurred in early 1964 at a Cleveland construction site where several actionists lay down in front of a bulldozer. A minister, seeing that the operator might reverse direction, lay down behind the bulldozer and was killed.

Counter-Demonstration Operations
(Chapter 6)

Pages 78-79 state in part, "Remember that the opponent would like, if possible, to provoke your group into wild statements, inaccurate or exaggerated accusations which cannot be proved, name calling, undignified behavior, confusion and disorderly behavior, fighting among the leaders, desertion from the ranks, and outright violent retaliation."

To attempt to avoid this the authors suggest discipline, calmness, restraint, education and organization. If attacked, they suggest one alternative might be to say to the assailant in a calm voice, "Sir, may I ask you a question?" They also suggest that if a group is under attack they might start spontaneously singing a hymn together.

"Tough" policing of civil rights falls into two categories:

"Alabama System"

This involves the lack of police protection for civil rights demonstrations and permits the formation of mobs (e.g. Freedom Riders, 1961).

"Mississippi System"

Forbids the formation of mobs and uses police authority to crush civil rights demonstrations.

In the North two variations of the Mississippi system (1) the "hard" line disperse or else, and (2) "soft glove" technique, initially, followed by polite requests to disperse, then veiled threats, for example to have leading demonstrators committed to mental institutions for observation.

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The best possible combination is to have a well organized, well educated movement combined with "legal police tactics."

Police Tactics

Once they have received orders, police and troops don't care about objective of demonstration. They are concerned whether they are dealing with a crowd, a mob, or a riot. The authors define a crowd in motion as a mob; a riot as a disturbance of three or more persons who want to overcome any opposition to their action by lawful or unlawful means.

Officers find it more practical and less dangerous to arrest random citizens at the edge of the mob rather than a leader or speaker in the center.

Individuals can be controlled more easily than groups. Police officers try to drive the crowd away from sensitive areas by use of gas, horses (also referred to as cavalry by authors), dogs, fire hoses, etc. "Sleeper" elements are sometimes planted behind the police "skirmish line" to set up a counter demonstration to divert an attacking police unit.

The manual points out that there is no defense against gas attack except masks or leaving the area. The immediate reaction is to panic and run. The authors warn against this and urge an orderly dignified retreat.

The use of cavalry and dogs is chiefly psychological. "Some dogs are trained only to hold, not to bite, but don't count on it."

Demonstrators are warned against lying down in front of horses as severe injuries will result.

The authors suggest a "human chain" to withstand pressure of fire hoses, but warn that other counterdemonstration operations generally follow.

The white participant is regarded as an outside agitator, a Communist, as a light-skinned Negro, and if a woman, a prostitute. Violence, if it erupts (in the "Deep South") tends to focus on the white picket.

You can recognize police or FBI photographers because they take photos of individual demonstrators rather than of the entire action.

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Arrest and the Courts (Chapter 7)

A policeman does not need a warrant to arrest a demonstrator he sees committing a felony, misdemeanor or summary offense.

If the demonstrator feels he is not guilty and resists arrest, the officer can use all necessary force to arrest this person.

Immediately at the time of arrest the demonstrator has the right to ask why he is being arrested; before being questioned at the police station following the arrest, the police must tell the arrested person of the charge against him. "In many places the police have the right to fingerprint and photograph you," according to page 91 of the manual.

Constitutional rights and privileges are then discussed in some detail as they affect persons under arrest.

In summary offense cases the arrested person has additional rights (beyond those afforded in the cases of felonies and misdemeanors). (1) The Justice of the Peace must ask how the person pleads, (2) the arrested person can tell his side of the story, (3) he can have his own witnesses, (4) if the Justice of the Peace finds him guilty, he must tell him exactly what he found him guilty of and the penalty thereof.

The manual urges that a lawyer be retained if possible.

The manual cautions "... A realistic view would therefore be that constitutionally rights are an extremely relative matter, and that in many instances involving civil rights activity, the civil rights worker may as well forget they exist."

The manual quotes the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (1961) that "...Negroes feel the brunt of official brutality proportionately more than any other group. Approximately two out of every three complaints (received by the Department of Justice) originated in the 17 Southern states and the District of Columbia..."

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Civil rights matters that wind up in federal courts are usually matters involving violations of injunctions granted by federal district court (86 districts) or appeals from state supreme courts.

The manual alleges (page 95) "... The FBI has been notoriously lax in stepping in to help civil rights demonstrators, even when brutality against demonstrators was proceeding right in front of the agents." It should not be assumed that Negro police officers are sympathetic; some of them "lean over backwards" to be tough.

Civil rights leaders owe to the demonstrators answers to the following:

- (1) Why are we demonstrating?
- (2) At what point will he "call it off?"
- (3) Are we likely to be arrested?
- (4) Will we accept bail?
- (5) If arrested, in what priority will we be released (wage earners, students, etc.)
- (6) How much will we cooperate with police.
- (7) Have we announced in advance our intention of breaking the law?
- (8) Shall we remain in jail rather than pay fines?
- (9) Will legal action be taken against officials who "rough us up?"

Jail
(Chapter 8)

Demonstrators are urged to wear loose, tough clothing, two sets of underwear (while in jail can wash one set while wearing the other) to have sweater or trenchcoat, toothbrush, deodorant, soap,

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cigarettes, toilet paper, kleenex, notepaper, ballpoint pen refills.
If you must wear glasses, tape them on.

Under the heading "Keeping up Morale," page 105 of the manual states that some exhausted civil rights workers look forward to jail as a place they can catch up on their sleep. Singing, lecturing, "role-playing," sharing of experiences, etc., are suggested to combat boredom, also projects to contribute to prison life such as a newspaper, paint-up, fix-up, etc.

The authors do not recommend noise making as a form of agitation to obtain concessions while in jail as it can lead to destruction of property, rioting, etc., which is alien to the nonviolent discipline.

Sit-downs outside the cell or when moving from one place to another are an additional protest method.

Another method is the hunger strike. Generally prisoners engaging in a hunger strike drink water; not to do so is fatal in ten to fifteen days. Some fasts taking only water have lasted two months or more.

Nonviolence and Armed Defense (Chapter 9)

Because of a "sense of desperation" which has developed in recent years within the Negro Community there has been an increased attack on the tactics and concepts of nonviolence and an increased interest in the tactics of armed defense.

Advocates of various brands of Black Nationalism criticize nonviolence on several grounds.

1. Knowledge that Negroes are armed and will defend themselves deters aggression.

The authors answer that violence does not deter violence; that nonviolent action deters brutality better than violence does.

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Another criticism is that nonviolence is foreign to the nation's way of doing things. Negroes have for centuries been the victims of violence, and this has become a part of their way of life. Nonviolence is the tactic of the white middle-class intellectual, not of the Negro working-class.

The authors' rebuttal to this argument is that the roots of nonviolent action in America go back to Puritan Massachusetts and to colonial Pennsylvania (Quaker influence). The boycott was used during the American Revolution; the labor movement has made full use of nonviolent tactics. The Golden Rule and the Christian ethic are part of the American way of life.

Another argument for violence is that racism is a disease. It is less important to convert the racist enemy than it is to remove his opposition to the struggle and eliminate his threat to the homes and families of Negroes.

The answer given by the authors is that nonviolence provides three more kinds of power: economic power, political power and psychological power.

With respect to political power, the authors contend that mass demonstrations (nonviolent) are powerful and make it difficult for the politicians to rule without making concessions.

On commenting on the psychological power of nonviolence they note that the Christian Church would not have become involved in the struggle for change to the degree it has if the movement had been violent.

Another contention of the pro-violence faction is that nonviolence is all very well when there's not much at stake, - a few votes, a few jobs, etc. When it comes to real numbers in jobs, votes, housing, schools, etc., and when the "Negro movement begins to march upon the real citadels of the power elite, then no mercy will be shown, and we will be crushed despite all the protestations of Christian love. Only arms will save us."

The authors answer this in part by saying ... "If this means that the only way 170,000,000 whites will give up their key privileges is for 20,000,000 Negroes to defeat them

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with arms, then there is no hope..." They contend that this guerilla type terrorist activity will bring only hardship and death, mostly to Negroes.

Appendix A Bibliographical Notes, pages 119-123.

This section cites several authors and gives brief comments on their books. This literature deals with Negro protest, migration of Southern Negroes to Northern cities, Negro separation, the Negro's cultural contributions, trade unionization and related matters.

Among the books and authors mentioned are "Negro Slave Revolts in the United States" by HERBERT APEHEKER, and "Negro Leader in Time of Crisis" by W. E. B. DU BOIS.

HERBERT APEHEKER

HERBERT APEHEKER was elected to the National Committee of the CPUSA at its 17th National Convention, December 10-13, 1959.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Doctor W. E. B. DU BOIS died in Ghana, Africa, at the age of 96. He was a prominent crusader for Negro rights, who at the age of 93, joined the Communist Party, USA. His letter of application to the CPUSA and GUS HALL's acceptance were printed in "The Worker" issue of November 26, 1961.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist publication.

[REDACTED] on December 18, 1963, advised that GUS HALL as of that time was General Secretary, CPUSA.

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Appendix "C" to "Manual for Direct Action," by
Oppenheimer and Lakey

(Security Notes for Deep South Work, adapted from
COPRO suggestions)

TRAVEL (a) When persons leave their project they must call the home project person-to-person on arrival at their destination in person. If they are reported missing, personnel will notify central HQ. A system of daily reports will note all changes in personnel, transfers, etc. Phones should be used only when there is no time to use mail. Care should be taken to avoid using full names of persons over the phone. Checklists to keep track of all personnel at all times should be maintained

(b) Doors of cars should be locked at all times. At night, windows should be rolled up as much as possible. Gas tanks should have locks and be kept locked. Hoods should also be locked.

(c) No one should go anywhere alone, especially not in an automobile, or at night. Travel at night should be avoided unless absolutely necessary.

(d) Remove all objects from your car which could be construed as weapons: hammers, files, iron rules, etc. No liquor bottles, beer cans, etc. should be inside your car. Do not travel with names and addresses of local contacts.

(e) Know all roads in and out of town. Study the county map. Know locations of safe homes and contacts in the county.

(f) When getting out of a car at night, turn car's inside lights off first.

(g) Note any cars which circle offices of Freedom Houses. Take license numbers of all suspicious cars. Note make, model and year. Cars without license plates should be reported at once to project office.

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DOMICILE (a) If it can be avoided, try not to sleep near open window. Sleep at the back of houses, that is, the part farthest from the road or street.

(b) Do not stand in doorways at night with lights on behind you. Draw shades if you sit in lighted rooms. Do not congregate in front of the house. Make sure doors to houses have locks and are kept locked.

(c) Keep records of all suspicious events, e.g. cars circling around the house or office. If an incident occurs, or seems about to occur, call the project, and also notify local FBI and police.

(d) Under some circumstances it may be advisable for new personnel to make themselves known to local police, introduce themselves, and tell them their reason for being in the area.

(e) A telephone should be installed. If a private phone is used, put a lock on it; otherwise, install a pay phone.

PERSONAL (a) Carry identification at all times. Men should carry draft cards.

(b) All drivers should have in their possession drivers' licenses, registration papers, and bills of sale. The information should also be on record with the project director. If you are carrying supplies, it is well to have a letter authorizing the supplies from a particular individual, in order to avoid charges of carrying stolen goods.

(c) Mississippi is a "dry" state, but though liquor is ostensibly outlawed, it is available readily. You must not drink in offices or Freedom Houses. This is especially important for persons under 21.

(d) Avoid bizarre or provocative clothing, and beards. Be neat.

(e) Make sure that medicines prescribed for you by a physician are clearly marked with your name and the doctor's name, etc.

POLICE Under no circumstances should you give the address of the local person with whom you are living, his or her name, or the names of any local persons who are associated with you. When police ask where you live, give your local project or Freedom House address, or if necessary your out-of-state home address.

VISITORS Find out who strangers are. If persons come into project offices to "look around," try to find out who they are and what exactly they want to know. All offers of help should be cleared through the project director.

RECORDS Any written record of any importance should have at least four copies. Keep original and send copies to (in case of Mississippi COFO project) Jackson, Greenwood, and Atlanta. Bear in mind that offices may be raided at any time. Keep a record of interference with phone lines, and of calls to the FBI. This information should go to hq.

GENERAL

- (a) People who do not adhere to disciplinary requirements will be asked to leave the project.
- (b) Security is a matter of group responsibility. Each individual should take an interest in every other individual's safety, well-being, and discipline.
- (c) At all times you should be aware of dangers to local inhabitants. White volunteers must be especially aware of this point.

(1)

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)

The March 1, 1954, issue of the "Young Socialist Challenge," published as page three of "Labor Action," an official publication of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), contained an article concerning the creation of the YSL, which pointed out that at a unity conference occurring February 12-14, 1954, at Labor Action Hall, New York, New York, a merger occurred between the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) and the Socialist Youth League (SYL). The new organization was named the YSL.

On April 9, 1956, another confidential informant advised as follows:

The YSL has frequently worked in close sympathetic cooperation with the ISL toward similar objectives, although each major issue given mutual consideration is decided upon by these organizations individually. The YSL serves as an apprenticeship for the ISL, but ISL selection of members from YSL ranks is made on an individual and personal basis. In many instances YSL members are also members of the ISL.

The YSL and ISL utilize the same printing house in New York City and the YSL publication is printed as an insert in "Labor Action." Frequently, lecturers before the YSL are ISL members.

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The September 22, 1958, issue of "Young Socialist Campaign," which appeared as page five of "Labor Action," contained a statement from the National Action Committee of the YSL which indicated that the YSL had been dissolved. The statement appeared under the caption "Join the Young Peoples Socialist League."

The YPSL is publicly known as the youth affiliate of the Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation.

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH
YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

On October 26, 1956, a confidential informant advised that the Young Socialist League (YSL) had recently formed a branch of the National YSL in Philadelphia, which branch held its first meeting in Philadelphia on October 7, 1956. On June 25, 1958, this informant advised that the YSL still maintains a branch in Philadelphia.

This informant on October 8, 1958, advised that the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL in September 1958, had disbanded and merged with the Philadelphia Branch of the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL). The YPSL is publicly known as the Youth Affiliate of the Socialist Party, Socialist Democratic Federation.

SOCIALIST PARTY - SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION (SP-SDF),
and its affiliated youth group Young People's Socialist
League (YPSL)

The Independent Socialist League (ISL), formerly designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 9835, and the Young Socialist League (YSL), dissolved and disbanded in 1956.

The Philadelphia Branch of the ISL and the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL also disbanded in December, 1956.

Many persons who formerly had been members of the ISL and the YSL joined the SP-SDF and its affiliated youth group, the YPSL.

The SP-SDF and the YPSL have not been designated by the Attorney General of the United States and are not known to be controlled or dominated by any subversive organization.

The ISL and YSL are characterized separately.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Sources of this Bureau whose
identities are concealed in
this document have furnished
reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: 7/10/64

Transmit the following in Plain Text

(Type in plain text or code)

Via Airtel

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: Director, FBI

ATTN: CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION

FROM: SAC, Philadelphia (100-4899)

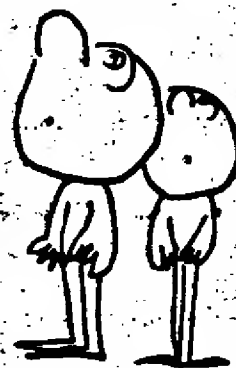
SUBJECT: ① AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
IS - C

Re my airtel, 7/9/64.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a publication entitled "A Manual for Direct Action" by MARTIN OPPENHEIMER and GEORGE LAKEY, published by the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa., in 1964.

100-11392-397

A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION



BY MARTIN OPPENHEIMER
AND GEORGE LAKEY

100-11392-391

A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION

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by Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey

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Friends Peace Committee
1520 Race Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
1964

INTRODUCTION

This book is a rush job, like so many jobs in the civil rights direct action movement. It is written, however, so others will not have to rush quite so much. We put it together so you can have, in one place, information and alternatives on which you can base some of your thinking. It is not the Bible, however, and better things will come. As James Farmer has pointed out, we are in our infancy in nonviolent action. It may be that in the course of the revolution we will grow to maturity.

We admit our shortcoming frankly because frankness is a virtue and because you will soon discover it anyway. Here, as in so many cases in the movement, virtue and practicality go together.

There are people who do not believe in manuals, or in training, or in thinking ahead. They prefer to make all the mistakes for themselves. This book is for those who care more about the success of their struggle than about their own painful learning-by-experience. What we have put down here has been gleaned from the experience of civil rights and other movements; it includes some of the ideas of those who have learned painful lessons and want others to profit by them.

An important value of a manual like this is that it promotes democracy. A leader who alone understands the dynamics of a struggle and the

techniques for waging it, has a monopoly of power. Power flows to those who understand what is happening. When understanding and knowledge are shared, more persons can take a responsible part in decision-making. The movement need not flounder while the leader is in jail. Those readers who believe in democracy will see that a manual, and training, help to make a movement more democratic--and its participants more responsible.

Another reason for this book is that many of those who are now engaged in the struggle are young. Times are very different from the early forties when a few seasoned veterans of the peace and civil rights movements experimented with direct action tactics. Today a great deal of the leadership comes from young people, angry with a society which preaches brotherhood and practices discrimination. Participants in sit-ins have described the struggle in moral terms: there is less theory than in the thirties. Since morality strikes deep, people can be deeply moved and very angry. Anger, like so many emotions, can be used constructively or destructively. The way indignation is channeled will depend partly on the readers of this manual.

The early campaigns for civil rights were led mostly by middle class Negroes and whites: Now, more and more participants are from the working class and the unemployed. We know from study and experience that working class people are readier to use violence than middle class people. Because of the way children are brought up, because of the values they are taught,

because of frustration piled on frustration, it is easier for some people to use violence in the struggle. This is another problem we must face. By sharing the knowledge in this manual new recruits to the movement will come to a better understanding of what is happening, and to a more positive attitude toward the events of the day.

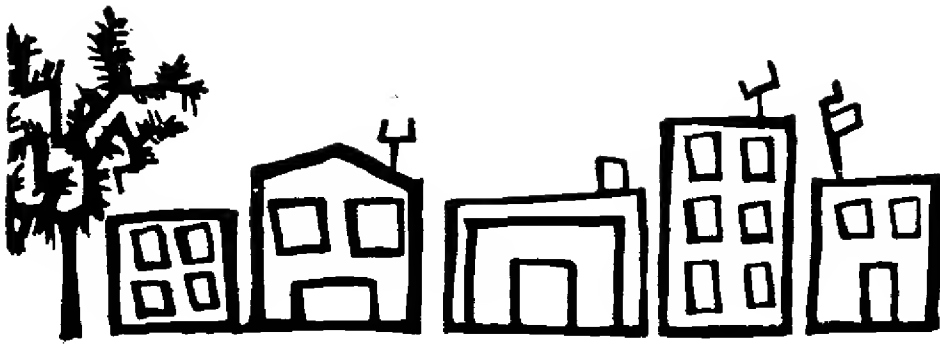
We have all seen people who are afraid of machinery which would not work or try to force it by brute strength. We have seen others inspect the machine, find the right lever, and set it running.

This manual begins with a description of that complicated piece of social machinery, the community, and points to some of the levers which can be used for bringing about change. The levers will not be moved without education. Education of participants is essential. The movement is to be democratic, and the training is to be democratic.

Preparing for direct action and training in their use of tactics and training in their use of tactics. This manual will also share what is known about violent defense. Arrest, court trial, prison, too, require preparation. How far nonviolence should be practiced and how far armed self-defense makes sense.

Finally there are appendices which contain reference material recommended for other spare-time reading.

Your comments and suggestions are much needed if future editions are to be better than this one is. Please send



Chapter 1: The Community

You act and react, as a civil rights worker and as a member of a movement, within a series of communities. There is the greater community of the Western world. There are smaller communities such as the family, small groups, cliques. But for our purposes the community in which we are interested is that of the city or town, as it exists within a state and region. While no two communities are ever the same, some general rules do apply to most communities that exist within a culture.

Whether you are engaged in citizenship education or sit-ins, it is important to know the community in which you act. In terms of an ongoing, organized campaign, it is crucial to be aware of a series of conditions--Who has the power? What is the relationship of forces, both racial and otherwise? What is the economy like? If you are considering a boycott, it is important to know what role the Negro community plays in relation to the stores being boycotted. In a city like Atlanta, downtown stores do not depend much on Negro trade because Negroes tend to deal with their own well-established

concerns within their own community. A boycott will be difficult. In a city where the Negro community is far removed from the center-city business district, whites have been moving to the suburbs. The business district is heavily dependent on the Negro trade. A boycott may be

Another example which shows the importance of analyzing the power structure and the role played in the community by the state government. That a city is also a community may change its reactions--state government may take a hand (usually negative). Or, because a state government with a local power structure, it may be either negative or positive, in the city. Otherwise it might stay out. You must contend with (or have the tacit approval of) the state troopers. These are all factors you should be aware of before the struggle begins. It is important, therefore, when you enter a community, to make a careful study of the community. Sources of information include back copies of local newspapers, local Chamber of Commerce figures, local data available from the Bureau of the Census, local Department of Commerce or at most local business and interviews with local business and political figures (preferably before you go, why you are really there). Do not rely on the society pages to find out who is who. "count" in decision-making process. Do not forget to inspect the forces within the Negro community.

What factors should you be looking for when you make this "social inventory?"

1. Who has the power in the community?

That is, which people, families, and business concerns, which politicians, ministers, educators have the authority to make decisions which influence the behavior of other individuals or groups, or things? Generally speaking, the real decision-making power will tend to overlap with "society." Not all people in "society" have power, and not all power people are in the society, but as a group they will overlap. The elite (and this is just as true in the Negro community) will have gone to certain schools and universities, will live in a certain area considered more desirable, will belong to certain social clubs, will attend certain churches, and above all, will be concentrated in certain occupations and professions: directors of large business, (smaller in smaller communities), financiers, and the lawyers who serve them constitute the "power elite" of a community. The elite will vary, of course, with the kind of community--in an area of large plantation-type agriculture, there will be one kind of elite. In a more commercial and industrial area, there will be another. Above all, it is important to remember that elites do not always agree among themselves. They have interests which differ and sometime conflict. These differences and conflicts can be "used" by the smart civil rights worker.

Example: Generally it is wise to try to boycott all stores, even when some stores are prepared to give in to demands on equal hiring and serving. The managers who are willing to give in will then pressure the more stubborn ones.

It is generally necessary the power structure when raising demands, and it is important the structure be aware of the issues the biracial commission or Mayor will channel information from the groups through to the power structure is valuable. A power structure of the issues, and of the nature cannot make realistic decisions in the situation. Nor can the movement unless it is aware of what the power is likely to do. Conflict is ultimately which both sides learn about each other is one of the best aspects of the century-old silence between the about real feelings despite all the "our Niggeras") is being broken, talks.

2. What are the relations between
In making out a social inventory, know what the situation is, and moving on. What rights do Negroes did they get these rights? Can men? Firemen? If so, only in Who votes? Who rides buses? the movies? Balcony only for Negro businesses are really white Which churches? Which political school board members?

The most important factor determining the present relations (and making a prediction of the to future change) is the proportion the population. The more Negro resistance, except in large cities

This means that we must be aware of what we're getting into. (You don't need training manuals for the fairly easy situation!) As is the case with any exercise, you practice the way you play, and winners tend to be people who practice hard and know the angles. The Deep South particularly is no affair for amateurs.

3. Who are your friends and who are your opponents?

You can assume very little when you first go into an unfamiliar community. Some spadework may have been done by someone before you, but this is frequently not the case. Education matters less than an ability to understand and communicate. The noisiest civil rights revolutionist may only be telling you what he thinks you want to hear, or what he thinks you ought to know. Some ministers, school teachers, and businessmen in the Negro community depend on segregation for their living. Others do not. People with independent incomes (or no incomes) will tend to be readier to act than those who depend on others and are insecure. Juvenile gangs, if approached in the right way, can be given a new purpose in life and can be valuable allies --but do not expect them to become nonviolent angels overnight. Furthermore, traditional educational methods (lecture) may not work and you will have to try new and ingenious methods of teaching and training.

It is important to try to involve segments of the white community. In Charlotte, N.C., the involvement of white Unitarians finally broke resistance to the sit-ins. Frequently a gesture will help: is there a union organizing campaign going on? These are potential allies. You

cannot expect allies to come to you simply because our cause is just. Everyone has prejudices of many kinds--the thing to do is to limit a person's chances to find reasons for bringing these prejudices out into the open. This is an important reason for nonviolence--it makes good public relations sense because it limits the chance for finding reasons to be against the movement. At the same time we cannot compromise, because not only will we lose thereby, but the Negro community, whose involvement is crucial, will be antagonized. Therefore: to maximize allies, don't antagonize, but don't compromise.

When going to other organizations for help, it is important to know how policy is made: by a few leaders, or at membership meetings, or otherwise? And can these organizations really be of help in the long run, or will they "use" the cause to promote a particular brand of politics? Will a change in national policy force them to abandon you? Your community study should show which organizations, churches, unions are likely to be help (based on their past record). All groups in a community (regardless of type --even Alcoholics Anonymous) as well as all individuals fall into one of the following classes:

1. Active associates and friends in the cause.
2. Support, but not active participation.
Financial help.
3. Moral support, some individuals giving money.
4. Neutral--organization divided evenly.
5. Hostile, but not active...wait and see.
6. Actively hostile (Citizens Councils, Klan, etc.)

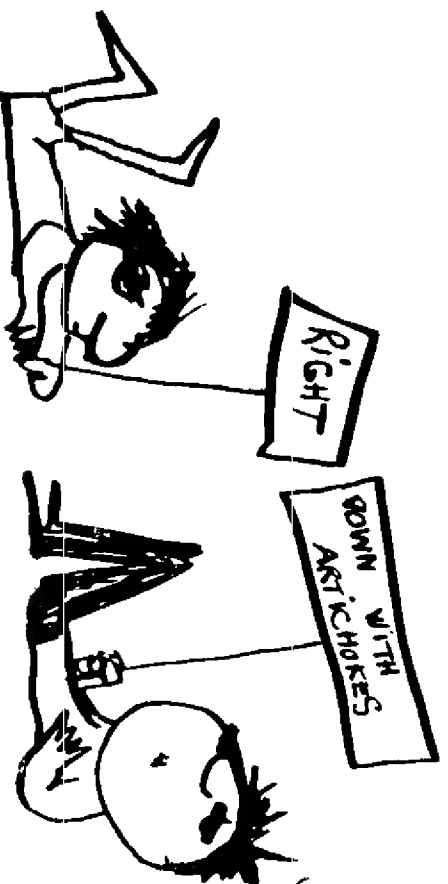
Your primary job is (a) to decide which of the above is your target group in a particular

campaign; your secondary task is (b) to move everybody one step up. Each of the groups will require a somewhat different approach (to be discussed in the section on public relations).

Where allies are concerned, your chief problems are fear, and apathy. We can't say much about fear. This is something you'll have to deal with depending on the situation. Alternative ways of earning a living and finding a roof can't always be created (e.g. Tent City in Tennessee). As to apathy, this may be due to bad planning, poor preparation, poor timing, and/or poor leadership. People declare a kind of mental sit-in when they are confronted with dictatorial "leaders" who keep the decision-making process clasped tightly to their own bosoms. People who don't trust the rank-and-file sufficiently to let them know what is happening as it develops and have a say in it, don't deserve to be trusted, and apathy sooner or later results. Partly it results because dictators talk a big game but don't produce--their failure to produce is due to the fact that they make mistakes, and this happens because they don't listen to anybody. Totalitarianism simply is not the most efficient way of "getting things done" in the long run. Sooner or later leaders become isolated, and the organization degenerates into a clique affair.

Strategy must be guided by your own situation, and cannot be taken out of a book. There are, however, some considerations you should take into account:

1. The political awareness of the Negro community. In some places the Negro community is so frightened, apathetic and/or lacking in civic awareness that the first step may be a voter registration campaign. Communication and concern can thereby be built about the major issues facing Negroes.
2. The number of Negroes in proportion to whites. If there is a large number of Negroes in proportion to whites, the white community will feel especially threatened in a physical sense. The strategy will have to take this into account, and prepare for a longer and tougher campaign. Boycotts obviously work better in a situation of numerical superiority.



The political situation may be such that while the town is bitterly opposed to the movement, the governor of the state is a potential ally. Large demonstrations may be required to flag his attention. On the other hand in the town may make concessions which the state may not, because of political ambition by the governor or for some other reason. In such a case, it would be better not to get the state and possible state police violence involved.

The main point is that what works in one situation may not in another, and massive demonstrations may not always be tactically best thing to do.

3. The support of outsiders. If there is a "law" in direct action which has held true consistently over the years and geography, it is this: the presence of outsiders can work against the success of the cause. Opponents use outsiders' presence as an important propaganda weapon against the campaigners. In the civil rights struggle outsiders help segregationists maintain their belief that local Negroes are not really in the struggle of their own will, and consequently, the status quo can not be so unjust after all. Some civil rights groups, realizing this, have taken great pains to identify themselves as local. In one case in the Upper South leaders of a sit-in asked a publicity-conscious organizer to go back to his national office, and issued a statement that they were not connected with his organization.

Organizers from outside may sometimes be necessary. When there is no local movement, or if the movement is in trouble and lacking important skills in direct action, there is often no choice but to bring in outside help.

However, this should be done r there will be some ill effects. in a town is healthy and has good can be a real disservice for lead for "1000 supporters" from a ne and "help" them.

There are things outsiders minimize the bad effects, such or picketing their local affiliate strators' target. Direct action taken at the state or national ca

One more reason why it is helpful to have outside leadersh demonstrators is that in the las can give anyone else freedom. Freedom Rides, valuable though ways, Negroes went back to seg in town after town because they freedom for themselves.

4. The stages of the struggle. action campaigns go through sev If we label them according to th the opponent, we have: (a) indif (b) active antagonism; (c) disun negotiation. The first stage, in already passed in many areas b national impact of the struggle a press coverage. Even in towns action has taken place, there is indifference and lines have bee town may be edgy and the power at the onset of demonstrations, respond with active antagonism. you are working in a town where is the first response, you can u

to good advantage in tightening up organizational effectiveness.

The second stage, active antagonism, is the period when the tide often runs highest against the movement. It may be long or short, depending on a number of factors including how deeply committed the opponents are to segregation. There is a tendency at this time for communication between Negro and white to cease.

This stage is crucial, for it is here that a lot of learning takes place. In the heat of conflict people are hyper-sensitive to the actions of the other side. Actions which confirm the prejudices the opponent has will be seized upon and magnified; those which counter the prejudices will have more impact than ordinarily. Disorderly, undisciplined direct action will confirm the belief that "those Negroes aren't ready for freedom," while courageously facing troopers without wavering will refute, among at least some, the belief that "Negroes, like animals, will be scared away by a show of force."

Some of your forces will at this point question the usefulness of continuing the struggle -- "we are worse off now than when we started." They are right in the sense that, if the campaign stopped now, Negro and white communities would be farther apart than before you began. However, if the struggle continues it will pass into stage three. Frequently a "cooling-off period" takes place next. Some negotiating, usually not fruitful, often accompanies this stage.

The third stage, disunity is the fruit of what came earlier. Negotiations have been resumed. More and more the people in or near the power have doubts about the rightness of the action they are taking to beat you down. The position of their position will take pressure. Moderates can play an important role in setting up lines of communication between civil rights forces and the opposition. Strong arguments (including economic arguments) it seem unreasonable for the position to hold out much longer. The disunity of the opponents and the moderates without the knowledge of the civil rights forces unless there is a dramatic breakthrough. A prominent minister's preaching you may not be aware that this is occurring until it is finished.

The fourth stage, a second realistic round of negotiations, an important one, for poor negotiators return to open conflict. The negotiators try to do two things: (1) describe the change as less threatening to the status quo, and (2) describe the change as more threatening the practices as more threatening the results of change. *

One way to show that change is threatening is to bring with you successes in other places. Some

*This and the following on negotiation are heavily from John P. Dean and A Manual of Intergroup Relations

will agree to have a trial run of the change; this must be done in good faith, however, without using it to sound out customers or citizens by telling them "We're just trying this thing out--what's your reaction?" Experience shows that polling in advance of desegregation brings many more negative reactions than will actually occur if the change takes place.

The negotiator also needs to describe the results of not making concessions. He makes it clear that these results (more demonstrations, etc.) will occur if a solution cannot be worked out, but he also makes clear his great reluctance to use them unless forced to do so. Experience shows that the negotiator is not usually effective if he is hostile and uses the sanctions as a threat to the opponent--"You give what we want or you'll get what's coming to you!" The tone should be friendly and firm.

If the opponent is using excuses like "This isn't the time to do it," "We can't move too quickly in these matters," it is wise to get him on record officially in favor of fair play practices in general. He will then have difficulty later evading this commitment. The negotiators should try to foresee all possible evasions which the opponent might introduce, and anticipate them, using workshops and socio-drama to brief the negotiating team.

In this description of the four stages of direct action we have assumed that preliminary negotiations did take place and the authorities (official, employer, manager) refused to give in. There are two important reasons why preliminary negotiations should occur:

first they may solve the problem agreed after witnessing nearby (of direct action.) Second, they provide for direct actionists to meet the confront the reality of what and dealing with.

5. The economic situation. It is that direct action is more effective are economic pressures such as strike available. However, even tactics are available, the civil need not be discouraged. Direct have been effective without the for example when the Quakers religious liberty in Puritan Massachusetts. Despite much brutality and some the Puritans finally came around.

6. The constructive program. which is useful for many direct is the "constructive program." School is one kind, the work can. These programs are helpful because draw in help from people who work in direct action tactics; (b) they organizational know-how and grow the part of new people; (c) they boost during a time when the direct campaign may be suffering reverses contradict one of the prejudices which "lazy Negroes who don't help the (e) they get things done which new camps can, for example, fix up of old people, clean up vacant lot ground space and fix up building rooms to be used for recreation purposes.

7. How Do You Choose? Some time you must make a decision as to which of a variety of possible targets you will move in on. Shall it be lunch counters or movies, churches or beaches, jobs or voting? How does one make a choice of strategy such as this? The previous six points have outlined some of the factors which go into such a decision--basically, a consideration of these factors should give you an idea of your strengths and weaknesses. But a strategy cannot only be based on a realistic view of your strength and the opponent's condition. It must also be based on at least two other things: the national picture, and local needs. If, this year, the national thrust of the entire civil rights movement is on voter registration and political action you would not want to divert your local movement and hence weaken this national effort. At the same time, the strategy which you choose must meet some local needs, must fill some local demand, otherwise the community will not be motivated to join in the struggle. In summary, strategy should be determined and modified by the degree of political awareness of the Negro community, the proportion of Negroes in the total community, the strength of the organization (including leadership), potential outside help where this is a positive factor, the economic situation (vulnerability) of the Negro and white communities, the national picture, and local needs. Good leadership should be able to develop a constructive and workable strategy based on the participation of the community in the strategy decision.



Chapter 2: Setting Up An Organ

Once the civil rights work in the community, and thought about it, should proceed to set up an organization, their structures, affiliations if any will depend on the community, on, and the personnel available. Some may want to join an existing group, some may want to influence it; he may want to set up a permanent or temporary group composed of individuals, or of representatives of other groups. Some may want to create a new group. Most groups tend to be "single-purpose" rather than many-purpose, with the exception of student groups (in some cases, these groups later develop into many-purpose). It is generally easier to join an existing group than to set up a new one, and to

than to maintain complete independence. There are certain advantages stemming from national affiliation, including financial help, staff help, legal aid, and reputation.

Organization implies bureaucracy. Every organization has bureaucracy, and this is not a "dirty" word necessarily. It simply means that there is a chain of command or communication through which decisions are carried out. Bureaucracy becomes "dirty" only when decision-making no longer reflects the rank and file membership, and/or when the structure interferes with carrying decisions out. This happens when the structure becomes too large, or when decision-making processes are unclear so that decisiveness is lacking, or when routine alone becomes central in the life of the organization.

Every organization, whether it is the U.S. Army, a business corporation, or a peace or civil rights group, must have a chain of command. Our assumption is that the chain of command should go from the bottom up, that is, should be democratic. This is so because democracy is (a) efficient, moreso than dictatorship in the long run; (b) better able to move in the direction of creating a more human society because it involves people in the determination of their own destinies, hence in the fuller involvement and development of their personalities; and (c) more able to recruit the kind of forces needed really to overcome oppression and injustice because in the long run movements based on demagogy do not result in justice -- the means help in determining the ends.

There are ways in which decision-making and full participation of the rank-and-file can be under the formation of a group a decision made as to structure, and whether the structure does not guarantee that it does help. A decision must be made as to how decisions are to be taken, whether by or by consensus (the Quaker "meeting") methods. Both have advantages and both have disadvantages. One tends to work best when the members have a lot of agreement on basic principles, while the parliamentary system tends to work best when the representation to organizations recognizes the importance of the system can be manipulated, the best intentions, not to speak of the best, less than the highest moral of

Several kinds of conditions can undermine democracy aside from manipulation or help make manipulation possible. One is the group out with late and bad decisions or holding the group until motion is gone, leaves the way open for a minority to railroad ideas through. Another is present officers appoint or elect themselves, should generally be regarded as a bad thing. Nominating committees for officers, or nominations from the floor are also bad for keeping the decision-making in the hands of a group. Most important of all is the lack of informal person-to-person communication, shortcuts, doing favors, and the but misdirected desire to win, hence letting "experts" do all the work tends to happen particularly

and emergencies when "we can't afford to make mistakes," and can't take a chance on letting a less-trained person do a job and learn at the risk of having him make mistakes. Unless deliberate decisions are made by the group to expand the techniques of the trade, techniques (such as running a meeting, writing a leaflet, running a mimeo machine, being picket captain, etc.) will remain the property of a few "experts," who tend gradually, and frequently without realizing it, to exclude the rank-and-file members from a real role in the organization.

In civil rights groups conditions of crisis always exist. This makes the situation more serious. In addition, you run into the argument that decision-making should be limited to those who fully participate in organizational work--something that is not possible, given the speed of the movement and the constant meetings required, for everyone. A second-class membership can develop under such circumstances, and a type of clique arises in which the "true revolutionaries," that is, those whose entire lives are taken up with the movement, have a different life from the rest of the members, different values, slang, etc. Insofar as such a clique criticizes current values it may have a contribution to make, but when it separates itself from its own rank-and-file, and from the community at large, because of its style of living, it does the movement a disservice. Democracy in any case suffers.

If you need to fight against the growth of non-democratic tendencies in an organization, you must organize your action (that is, form

caucuses). This is true whether the group is informal, or whether a democratic faction exists. You must involve democratic people to conduct a given issue, otherwise, after a time, the group is doomed to develop in such a way as to undermine its ultimate goals: the democratic development of society.

Whether you are conducting a meeting within your own organization, or are a democratic minority in another organization, the following suggestions may help:

(1) All organizations have three main functions: policy-making, organization, and public relations (including both education of the public and public relations). Regardless of the size of the organization, the person who is in charge of carrying out the policy determines what happens. The secretary, coordinator of committees, etc., is the man to watch--or the man to control. He can be used either for evil or for good.

(2) You must organize your group. Meet ahead of meetings: plan strategy. Elect a floor leader. Sit in a scattered way throughout the audience. Keep your best people last in an exchange from the floor. Use parliamentary procedure so as to maneuver, and so as to make your numbers count.

(3) Remember that you, as a leader, are without an organized following, and that there is no good without a top-notch floor leader.

The good leader must have a perspective (not constantly react to situations as they arise), credibility (not promise what cannot be accomplished, over-or under-shoot the potential, keep the group moving at its capacity), and "image" or personality. Remember that a leader can be cut down just as surely by apathy as by elections, and that you can sabotage any organization by obeying all the rules carefully, just as you can sabotage it by a "slow-down." This, after all, is just another way of doing "passive resistance."

(4) The good leader recognizes minority points of view without being bullied by them. Dissenters are a part of the movement unless proven otherwise, and above all they are human beings and must be treated as such. A good leader will insist that arguments be to the point, and will not allow "ad hominem" or name-calling arguments which attempt to discredit people's thinking by some form of "guilt by association."

The above are general points. What are some of the specific jobs that need doing? (This is partly based on Charles Walker's Organizing for Nonviolent Direct Action, Cheyney, Pa.)

(1) Once the executive committee and the officers have been set up (with clearly established lines of authority, responsibility, and decision-making and with as little overlap as possible) we are ready to move.

(2) A timetable for action is worthwhile. Persons who have charge of such jobs as publicity, office management, transportation, communication, housing, training, supplies, finances, literature, etc., should be appointed, or elected. Special

resource persons, when needed, up: workshop leaders, legal counsel, relations specialists, etc.

(3) Frequently a headquarters is to be set up. Select its location carefully for convenience and possible symbolic value. Headquarters neat and clean. Your headquarters speak for you; you will want to post posters, etc., and possibly open a press conference.

(4) Finances are always a tricky business. Open a special bank account if necessary. Be clear on any tax-exemption problem. Use a simple bookkeeping system in case the bookkeeper is arrested. Your office should seek excuses to charge misuse of funds. There may be investigations. Your finances should be kept fanatically clean.

(5) Office supplies, communication equipment (walkie-talkies, etc.) and equipment must be on hand when they are needed. Make sure your machinery is kept in good repair so that it can function when you need it. A problem of record-keeping must be solved while you may not wish to have records (hence have supporters punished). At the same time it is important to keep track of names and ties for the sake of accounting for the future. Informing new personnel of work and helping them when they take over, and helping and historians in their job for the future.

(6) Secrecy: It is possible to control the obtaining of "secret" information.

opponents in various ways. However, if your opponents are determined, this is pointless. It results in inefficiency because you have to cover up a lot you do from your members; authoritarianism because you cannot tell your members what is going on, and mistrust. In any case your opponents, if they are determined, will plant "informers" and/or modern electronic devices in such a way that your activities will be an open book. . You may as well open the book and be fully honest about your plans to begin with. You should try to plan tactics (to be discussed later) which do not depend on secrecy for their value.

(7) Register or have records of participants in all projects wherever possible (a) in order to keep them informed prior to the event; (b) to find out if they have special skills; (c) to keep track of problems as they develop; (d) to follow up later on for deeper involvement; (e) to inform attorneys or relatives in case of arrest, accident, and/or violence. Participants in long-term projects should be insured if possible.

(8) Participation in a project or membership in an organization should be conditioned upon acceptance of a written discipline, or upon some set of principles or constitution. No exceptions should be made. It is your job to educate people to the acceptance of your principles, but until they do, they stay out. Such principles do not have to be complicated or numerous. In this way you can cut down on misunderstandings, violations of lines of responsibility and authority, and thus limit the likelihood of violence because

of your own people losing control or of themselves. This also protects the public image of the movement and gives outsiders a sense that the organization is something special to which it is a privilege to belong.

(9) Relations between persons (also to be discussed under "Work") will always be a problem to some degree in any situation that develops. Rules rarely can be given here. Sloppy public displays of personal affection, needless to say, are an aspect of most disciplines, and should be avoided that way. Sloppy clothing likewise.

(10) Psychological problems also arise in joining movements for all kinds of reasons. An untrained person will rarely be able to distinguish "real" from stated reasons except in extreme cases. This does not need to be a problem until personal problems interfere with the work of the group. If at all possible, a person with experience in family problems should have the kind of leading role in the group that he can step in and give guidance without interfering to interfere in anybody's personal life, thus making the problem person feel better.

(11) The white participant in civil rights work, especially (although not exclusively) in the South, faces a special problem. He must live with and live with Negroes in a way that is primarily of, by and for Negroes. He must live in action. To varying degrees he is treated as a second-class participant and frequently, though in very subtle ways, will be called upon to "prove" his worth.

This is a difficult role; on the one hand the white participant should not give in to reverse racism in order to be accepted--he should be accepted because of what he does, and not because of what he is. On the other hand he must establish contact and communication, and maintain them in order to be effective. The white participant should not be afraid to take on an equal role, including in the decision-making process, but he should try to establish his credentials as one who has the right to participate because he, too, has put himself on the "firing line." The white participant has many of the problems which face an anthropologist or a sociologist visiting a group with which he is unfamiliar. To be accepted without losing one's own individuality and standards is not easy.

Public Relations

You should not assume that because our cause is just, anyone who is worthwhile will support it--or that anyone who does not support us isn't worth trying to get. Prejudices run deep and must be dealt with. Allies are essential, because (a) civil rights workers are a very small minority in this country and cannot carry enough weight to change society no matter how moral the cause; and (b) certain kinds of allies are important because they lead to the breakdown of significant points of resistance (e.g. ministers, scholars, dignified mothers of white governors). It is therefore important, while not compromising, to try to limit the amount of antagonism from potential allies. This is the key to good "public relations." It involves primarily two things:

cutting down on actions which can be interpreted to be hostile and negative interpretation of all activities. Many people are only looking for support to support the movement. While creating excuses for those who are not doing for them, we can avoid presenting a silver platter.

What we are talking about "public relations" is really "propaganda," like bureaucracy, is not a dirty word. It has become distorted. Propaganda has come to be associated with distortion of the truth. The often made between propaganda (distinct message) and education (conclusions open.) But even education, because leaving conclusions a kind of message, or value in itself, is not democracy.

Before any educational or campaign is begun it is important to analyze your "target population" and people whom you want to move (keep in their present state of mind). Of campaigns by others to move propaganda is sometimes defensive. First of all, the hard core of support to the chapter on The Community are friends whom you want to build. Then there is the vast neutral population. There are those in opposition, to the cause. The final objective is move everyone one step closer where there is an offensive on a

to have them move away from you. Every propaganda item (mass meetings, press releases, leaflets, TV programs, etc.) should be aimed at a particular segment of the population, your "target."

Various publicity methods which you may want to consider include: background information sheets to support press releases for newsmen and community leaders; brief biographical sketches of well-known leaders and participants to help with "human interest" stories; press releases for dailies, the wire services, special press services (religious, labor, Negro, etc.); neighborhood papers; radio and TV news departments; commentators and columnists who are sympathetic. You may want to offer advance interview, or tape record special speeches. By all means try to visit key editors, news directors, and special reporters in order to interpret events. Writing letters to the editor should not be neglected, but they should be kept short and to the point.

It is crucial to remember that your job is to inform, not to seek publicity for publicity's sake. Try not to be put into the position of doing things for the press which are not a natural part of the action, no matter how picturesque they may be, but remember to be friendly in your replies to the press, and try to interpret what you do as fully as possible.

When you are speaking "on the record" you should be particularly careful to quote accurately, and give only facts of which are certain. Double-checking is more important than being fast on the come-back. If you are the public affairs officer, you should try to do

more reading on this comp

Press releases should be timed as to time of release, and spaced. They should not be too frequent at maximum. After a while, because of the peculiarities of the local market, tailor your releases to meet the needs of format. All press releases should be a news story, beginning in the middle, two (at most) with Who, What, and Why:

(-WHO-

Joe Brotherhood, chairman

chapter of Citizens for Equal Rights

(-WHAT-

ing announced a full-scale boycott

downtown department stores.

He said the "no-buy" campaign

(-WHY-

effect until all the stores hire

number of Negro clerks.

Brotherhood, 32, who

logy at nearby Baptist Ser

the agreement of four Negro

Negro community groups on

Here are some general cautions for publicity campaigns, leaflets, and other affairs of a public relations nature:

1. Keep leaflets readable. Don't clutter them up with too much reading material. Start out with something that will hold the reader's attention. "Police Brutality in this Neighborhood," not "Citizens for Equal Rights."

2. Keep your public relations down to earth. Make your charges so they are believable. Ask people to do something that they can really do right now, given their present state of mind. "Come to Freedom School," not "go immediately to register." Don't insult their basic prejudices or beliefs. You want to communicate, not drive them away (e.g. don't say "your preachers are nothing but Uncle Toms." It's libelous, anyway, to charge a person publicly with being a Communist, or an Uncle Tom!)

3. Don't promise what you can't deliver. People who disagree with your ideas may gradually come to believe in you as a person if you really show you can deliver. Try small things first. Don't try too much because failure tends to undermine morale.

4. Watch your language. Use the English that makes sense to the community in which you are working. Watch your appearance. Appearance is a communicating device. You cannot expect people to raise their own standards of cleanliness, or look up to you as a leader, when you act like a slob. The civil rights worker gives up a cer-

tain amount of his private life for the movement.

5. Keep social affairs too hard on newcomers. Be sure they feel at home. Don't humiliate them with the in-group clique. Don't let the reputation of having absolute authority become being dogmatic and inflexible. Shake hands.

Conducting a Meeting

It is pointless to try to copy parliamentary procedure in a meeting of this one. Every organization develops its own procedure of time, develops its own procedure, what based on the parliamentary procedure down in Roberts Rules of Order. To meet specific local conditions. An important thing to remember is that its chief purpose is to be efficiently conducted while protecting the majority, and the rights of the minority. Procedures should be amended, changed, and invented as long as that can get accomplished better.

A typical business agenda follows as follows:

1. Call the meeting to order. Meeting will please come to order.

2. Have the secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting, with

main points, motions passed and action approved. Ask "Are there any corrections to the minutes," then, after all corrections are made, "The minutes stand approved as corrected." Some organizations like to have the rest of the agenda read at this point, with specific topics listed, so that members know what is ahead.

3. Have the secretary read short summaries of the more important correspondence, especially letters from the national office. If action is required, it should be taken either at this point or under old or new business.

4. Reports of special officers (treasurer, particularly, plus membership committee chairman, etc.) and committees (such as the executive committee, special projects committee, housing, education, public accommodations, etc.) After each report, ask for questions or discussion from the floor. There may be motions asking specific action, or correcting the actions reported on, at this time.

5. Unfinished, or Old Business should be taken care of next. This is business which has not been covered by committee reports. Ask the floor "Is there any unfinished business to come before the body?"

6. New Business should be next on the agenda. Some new business may have been reported by a committee such as the executive committee, and this committee may wish to make a more formal report at this point and ask for action. When this is concluded ask "Is there

further new business?"

7. Some organizations have a special agenda for "Good and Welfare" or "General Grievances." This is a good idea and try to cope with such problems.

8. "There being no further business, the chair will entertain a motion for adjournment."

Before and after meetings in the civil rights field there may be a moment of silence for meditation or a short song.

While there is little or no formal method of procedure, there are keys to having an orderly meeting based on A Call to Order, a preliminary procedure prepared by the National Student Association.

1. Before starting a meeting, the chairman should be sure that he has the business to be considered (the agenda).

2. Any time an officer makes a report, there should be a motion to accept or adopt it, or change it, or reject it.

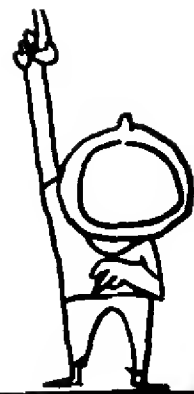
3. The chairman should state clearly the motion on which a vote is to be taken in order that everyone has a clear understanding of the issue. This is usually in order after a motion is made.

and they are voted on before the main motion.

4. Courtesy to the group is the key to an orderly meeting. Every member has rights equal to every other member.

5. Only one subject at a time should claim the attention of the group.

6. The will of the majority must be carried out, and the rights of the minority must be preserved.



Chapter 3: Citizenship and Voting

(This chapter is based in part on material developed by the Council of Federated Organizations in teaching in Mississippi, but is general enough to apply to other areas in which civil rights workers come in contact with the local population for various purposes.)

In much of the South repression is a way of life, and veering from this way of life" is not tolerated at all. The idea is subversion that must be squashed. Intellectual initiative represents a threat. We have learned what is necessary for survival: that silence is safest, so volunteer only what they want to hear. The South will be teaching people who have lived in the South all their lives. They have been denied education, denied free expression and

and most of all denied the right to question. Your job: to help them begin to question.

What are the people like? They are each different, but they will have in common the scars of the system. Some will be cynical. Some will be distrustful. All will have a serious lack of preparation both with regard to academic subjects and contemporary issues -- but all of them will have a knowledge far beyond their years of how to survive in a society that is out to destroy them. Because they have this knowledge, this awareness of the extent of evil in the world, they will be ahead of you in many ways, but most of this knowledge is negative. It is only half the picture, and it is this half which is crumbling. There is great reason to hope for the first time. Your job: to help the people see this hope, and inspire them to go after it.

What will they demand of you? They will demand that you be honest. Honesty is an attitude toward life which is communicated by everything you do. Since you, too, will be in a learning situation, honesty means that you will ask questions, as well as answer them. It means that if you don't know something you will say so. It means that you will not "act" a part in the attempt to compensate for all they've endured in the South. You can't compensate for that, and they don't want you to try. These people have been taught by the system not to trust. You have to be trust-worthy.

There is little you can teach them about prejudice and

segregation. They know. What you can do is help them develop ideas and associations which they can do something about to overcome prejudice.

How? The key to teaching is to prepare materials. Materials prepared by those familiar with the situation, can help, and with the situation, can help, discover the way for yourself.

In some areas you will find the first civil rights worker to be the almost certainly you will be the worker. You will have to deal with novelty as well as with the educational areas, interest in education and teachers will have to recruit

In other areas there have been a past and you will be warmly welcomed where you can count on one thing for a worker. Otherwise you will

It is important to realize the titles in which you may find yourself of rapid social change and the people engaged will be in the midst of the find yourself involved in political people to vote, organizing political

for Negro candidates, and preparing to challenge the local political power structure. The classroom experience and the real life political experience, both for you and for your students will be linked, and will overlap. This is how the classroom experience will become real. At the same time you will have to balance your local participation with the need to prepare for classes.

In some communities local activity may go beyond politics, involving direct action, mass demonstrations, jail, etc. You must keep a sensitive ear to the ground so that if this should happen you can make a tactical choice as to the continuing educational program, and its possible modification.

Educational techniques will depart considerably from the formal classroom lecture system many workers are used to from college days. Since one of the prime goals is to develop local leadership, it is important to help students express themselves. Hence discussion is the preferred technique. Discussion helps to encourage expression, brings feelings out into the open where they can be discussed and dealt with productively, develops participation on many levels, develops group loyalty and responsibility, and develops critical and self-critical faculties, as well as the ability to take criticism from others. While short lectures, socio-drama, reading aloud, and singing can all be used, discussion should be used as

a follow-up in almost all cases.

Here are some hints for discussion leadership:

1. Subject matter should always be related to the student's level of experience, and to current problems.
2. No expression of anybody's opinion should be ignored or passed over. Bring out all points, discuss them honestly and with complete freedom.
3. The classroom atmosphere should be serious but not sloppy. You may want to use first names, let the students know the session is for them, etc.
4. Sessions should always be planned in advance, especially if audio-visual aids are used, in the most effective way.
5. At beginning of the session review what was covered the day before, and what is to be done. At the end of a session review what was covered during the session, or let the group know what will be done next.
6. Keep the language simple, and to the point. At the same time, keep standards high, and set an example.
7. Hold your criticisms until a positive atmosphere has been established with the students. Be positive: praise as often as possible, especially before

8. One-hour sessions are usually maximum for any single session.
9. The group leader should lead, not dominate; give direction and keep discussion going, not "control."
10. The best way to keep things moving is to ask questions, preferably the kind that can't be answered just "yes" or "no."
11. Encourage participation by everyone, without bulldozing the reluctant, quiet participant.
12. The good leader should be willing to answer questions at all times, and share his own experiences and feelings, too.
13. In a situation where any verbal expression at all is a sign of progress, the leader should not be too critical, and should protect students from each others' overly critical and downgrading attacks, if such should take place.

- - - - -

If you are setting up a citizenship education project to draw up a budget. Below is a straight three-week voter registration project involving 20 persons plus two leaders.

Food
Utilities
Household supplies
Postage, phone, office supplies
Travel on job
Truck rental
Insurance (\$1.15 per person per week)
Education & Recreation
Leaders' honorarium
Leaders' travel honorarium
Total

One, but by no means the only, way to set up citizenship workshops in a neighborhood is to hold three of them: (1) Why Vote? (2) How to Register? (3) How to Canvass? In canvassing neighborhoods, as well as for people to register, use the "Report Sheet" and individual

Daily Report Sheet

Individual Index

List totals

1. Homes visited _____
2. Eligible voters (all over 21) _____
3. Nonregistered voters (eligible voters) _____
4. Registered voters _____

List totals and names

1. People to arrange transportation for _____
2. People volunteering transportation help _____
3. Families needing baby sitters _____
4. People volunteering baby sitting help _____

List comments, standard responses and problems,
direct quotes, sections of interviews.

Address _____

Ward _____

Precinct _____

Phone _____

Date of visit(s) _____

Persons not registered

Persons need to reregister

Plans to register or re

Services offered:

Services needed:

Not at home, revisit

Comment (need to talk further)

Workers: _____

Longer projects will obviously involve larger budgets, and more complicated training programs, with opportunities to create a long-range grass-roots voters' organization, follow-up work, evaluations, etc. Participants in an educational campaign, especially if they live together (as in a single house) will want to set up a steering committee, hold regular evaluations of their work, discuss how they are getting along with local citizens (and with each other), and allow for some recreational and reading time. They should bring with them, among other things, a suit or a dress (for girls) suitable for attending a local church. Organizations sponsoring educational efforts will make every effort to inform participants in projects of the local voting and registration laws, deadlines, etc.

In canvassing for citizens to register to vote, or actually to vote, workers must remember that mothers with children to care for must have some way of having the children watched while they are out of the house. One way of doing this is to have a "chain" in which the first mother to return home sits for the neighbor, who then returns to sit for her neighbor, etc. Car-pools to take groups of people while other workers act as baby-sitters are another method. Remember that the pulpit, the factory gate, the shopping center, and the street-corner (especially during evenings) are natural channels to urge citizens to register to vote, if these channels are properly approached, and properly used.

Free films, and leaflets should be both are occasionally available from unions. Churches may lend the machines and typewriters.

Ultimately, of course, the administration is to get people to vote, various public offices candidates represent the interests of the electorate, resources are limited, you will need and every voting district in which registration or participation in election candidates appealing to the Negro, your liking, but because they represent step towards the political education or because they represent at least native to a racist, you will be put having to support him. This does to support everything he says or that you are an outsider, and that make sense locally if you are not from the very community which you

Remember, too, that in many are, percentage-wise, as many people from politics as Negroes. At one and 1880's, there was a powerful between poor whites and the ex-slaves final objective of current campaign

Negro and poor white is to resurrect that alliance, to forge a political force in the South which will be, by its nature, liberal, pro-trade union, pro-social services, pro-civil rights, and in the long run for a positive foreign policy and for peace. Because such a force will have to do away with the present Dixiecrat blockade of progressive legislation in Washington, D. C., it will have a profound and long-lasting influence on all of American life. Your part in voter registration, even though it may seem minute, helps to forge this political force.

Chapter 4:

Workshops in Direct Action



The workshop is different from an educational meeting in that its focus is on the participation of the participants in the practical application of theory rather than lecturing to them, or the presentation of theory. Workshops may involve role-playing as part of the schedule, but the role-playing is not the main focus. The kind of participation in a workshop is different from leaders attempting fully to control the workshop. Members of an audience, to break into small sessions or "buzz" groups, to "role-play" in workshops will involve all of these techniques or panel discussion sessions. The main focus of this chapter is role-playing. To get the best results it is necessary to keep the workshop down in order to involve all of the participants. Workshops must be large enough to include a variety of personalities and talents.

There are five good reasons for role-playing, particularly for role-playing:

(1) To practice skills. Participants, by taking on various roles, learn how to behave in different situations. They get an idea of what to expect and how to react in the best way (to obtain best results). Mistakes are less likely later on. Going into the streets, into unfamiliar surroundings and new situations without some training and understanding of the principles involved is as foolish as going into a ball game without knowing the signals or the rules.

(2) To understand your opponent. By playing opponents' roles, the worker gets to feel how the opponent thinks and feels. This will be of tremendous value in the real situation because the worker will be better able to make judgements as to possible reactions to various tactics. It is particularly important prior to conducting negotiations, because the negotiator will be prepared for some of the answers and arguments from the opposition side. Tactics that deal more realistically with how the opponent actually thinks are more likely to develop this way.

(3) To build up morale. By practicing a variety of situations together with the people with whom you'll be going into action, you'll get to know each other better, and build up confidence in what each member of the group is likely to do under pressure. In the face of tremendous hostility it is crucial to have confidence in the other members of your group. The group, as it works together in

preparation for an action, builds morale.

(4) To get rid of tensions the victim of segregation, has to learn how to act when in action, to keep tensions down. In a crisis situation tensions tend to rise. People "crack" under strain and pressure. While, some begin to suffer the effects of fatigue." Obviously this process takes place in an actual situation. An opportunity is created to get rid of tensions in action. Everybody has a chance to act in a harmless place. Frequently this process helps participants "let go" at other participants' roles of opponents: police officers, the white power structure, "Uncle Sam" (singing also help to do this.)

(5) To make for more democracy by spreading skills to a larger number of people, to build up a bigger body of persons who can use the techniques and skills of leadership (conducting negotiations, being a picket leader, a spokesman). Leadership is held by a single person to others, who, in a crisis, will have to be brought into the process. If an organization lacks democracy only because there is little know-

The Audience and the Socio-Drama

Role-playing, or socio-drama (not to be confused with psychodrama, which is used primarily as a technique for mental health) requires an audience as well as participants, but the audience must be cautioned not to laugh out or react. They are the observers, and will be asked to evaluate and comment after the "scenario" is concluded. The socio-drama involves two or more persons spontaneously acting out roles in the context of real problems which the group faces. It can be used by anybody, for just about any human relations situation. Role-playing also requires the presence of a leader or director.

- (a) define the problem;
- (b) establish the situation, or scene ("scenario");
- (c) cast the characters;
- (d) brief and warm-up the actors and observers;
- (e) commence the action;
- (f) cut the action when he deems the point has been made;
- (g) lead the discussion and analysis of the situation and the behavior of the participants by getting them and the audience to talk;
- (h) make notes and plan future tests of the lessons learned from the scenario.

Also make sure if you are using scenarios that there is a good "mini-action." Have some scenarios that are concluded. After the scenario is concluded make sure you pin down what has happened. Summarize for the group, then move on.

scenario. Some scenarios are worth repeating with a different cast of characters, bringing in lessons learned just before.

Phillips 66

An interesting, quick way to warm up an audience is "Phillips 66:" the audience is broken down into groups of six, each member of the group introduces himself (so you get acquainted); then the group appoints a spokesman. For six minutes the group makes quick comments or poses questions about a problem which the chairman of the meeting has assigned (What do you hope to get out of this workshop? What is the most urgent problem facing your group back home? Why are students apathetic to politics? Why nonviolence?). Then the spokesman from each group presents the comments or questions from the group to the whole audience. In this way the steering committee of the workshop or conference can quickly evaluate the quality and motivations of the participants, and can adjust the day's plans accordingly. The participants have been warmed up and introduced to each other at the same time.

It is important to get "feedback," not only in a workshop or conference, but in any organization. Feedback means finding out how the group is getting along. This can be done by making use of an observer who records what goes on, by post-meeting questionnaires, through buzz-groups (like Phillips 66) or by interviews.

SAMPLE SCENARIOS FOR RO

I - The Eviction

A group of civil rights demonstrators is trying to gain access to a tenement to prevent the eviction of a tenant who has been paying rent. The constable and several citizens are trying to prevent them from obeying the law and moving out of the tenement. A police officer threatens to arrest them if they do not move. (You may want to dramatize the scene to the point of actual arrest and removal.)

Questions: How do the demonstrators feel about other citizens and the police? How do they respond to the situation?

Cast: Three or four demonstrators, one or more constables, one or more police officers.

II - The Congressman

Congressman Blank, a Negro, is a member of a predominantly Negro district -- where he has been so far, and a reputation for being a political machine -- is having a hard time. He has even gone so far as to invite a group of his own advisers to his office in order to discuss the issue in a hard-headed way.

Questions: What will the relationship be to the Congress? How will the Congress respond to the ideas presented? What action is needed in order to bring the case to the Congress?

Cast: Congressman, two staff members, two or three civil rights persons.

III - The Barber Shop

A Negro civil rights demonstrator is attempting to integrate a barber shop. All other participants in the situation are whites: a barber, an assistant, two clients in the chairs, one client waiting, one police officer. All the whites are segregationists, but one of the whites in the chair is particularly rabid. The action begins when the other white is finished and gets up. It is the Negro's turn, but the head barber calls "you're next" to the waiting white client.

Questions: What is the response of the Negro client? What kinds of actions and remarks raise and lower tensions? How does the segregationist really see the situation? What does he really feel? What are the real issues as far as he is concerned? As far as the civil rights demonstrator is concerned?

Cast: As listed above. You may add an additional onlooker (white) who sympathizes with the Negro and who intervenes at a later point in the action in order to show how this will affect the situation.

IV - MAGISTRATE'S COURT

A group of civil rights demonstrators has been arrested for "disturbing the peace" and "refusing to obey an officer" in a demonstration involving a school boycott. The action was peaceful picketing, but some of the demonstrators came in without training, and in fact did some calling out, jeering, and stepped onto school property. The officers had ordered them off the property, they had refused to get off, and had been arrested together with some of the "regulars" on the picket line. The scene is magistrate's court the next morning. The action begins when the magistrate asks, "Who is the complaining officer in this case?"

Questions: What is the relationship between the demonstrators to the community? How should the demonstrators be treated? What should the policy be towards the officers? In case of conviction, what should the policy be? You may divide the scenario in half -- the discussion among the

Cast: Four "regular" demonstrators, one newcomer demonstrator, one police officer, a court clerk or judge, and other onlookers.

V - Sit-In

Six demonstrators, including one white girl, sit at a lunch counter in a community in an effort to secure service. A waitress does not serve them. They come and harass the demonstrator by but does not interfere. They sit at the counters. The action begins when the demonstrators take their seats.

Questions: What is the effect of the demonstrators' heavy harassment on the onlookers?

Cast: Six demonstrators, including one white girl, one police officer, two or three onlookers, and one waitress.

VI - The Cell

A white civil rights demonstrator has just been arrested in a southern civil rights demonstration. Since the jail is segregated, he is lodged in a cell with three other white men, all of whom are ardent segregationists. The segregationists are sitting on the two bottom bunks, and one has his feet on the only chair in the place. Action begins when a police officer, with appropriate remarks, pushes the demonstrator into the cell.

Questions: How do you communicate your ideas in a hostile environment, and still survive? What kinds of techniques might be developed to help in this situation?

Cast: Police officer, white demonstrator, three other white men.

VII - Committee Meeting

A meeting of a local civil rights organization's emergency executive committee is taking place to discuss what appears to have been the murder of a Negro citizen on the way to the police station in a police car. One member of the committee has been in touch with the local ACLU chapter and has an approximate idea of what happened, but the others have chiefly rumors. There is considerable community sentiment to take action. Another community civil rights group has already announced a march on city hall, and it is known that some of the marchers will be armed and that the march will be without any real discipline. One member of the committee is solidly in sympathy with this tactic already. The problem is to work out a tactic for the whole group.

Question: What should the group do about the other civil rights group, if anything? What should the group's attitude towards the potential for com-

munity violence be? What kind can the group effectively under-

Cast: Five persons, integrated on what actually happened made up his mind on what person is chairman.

VIII - The Picket Line

Any group up to about 25. The instructor picks an issue and instructions for the group to wait a few feet apart. It is helpful to have a few persons assigned for each end. A picket officer is assigned, and a person is assigned. A variety of situations

1. harassment by segregationists, roughing up, taking signs, calling
2. questions from passers by
3. volunteer unknown to the group joins the line
4. drunk passes the group
5. persons from other groups, not committed to nonviolence, throw signs
6. harassment from police, ordering the group across the line, violation of civil liberties
7. newspapermen attempt to interview
8. single picket becomes violent (Instructor may "plant")

Questions: How are decisions made? How are decisions communicated? How are public relations maintained?

IX - The March

This is a situation involving only four persons and demonstrating the problem of decision-making on-the-spot. One of the participants is told he is in charge of a mass march on City Hall; at a mass meeting the night before it was democratically decided, for various reasons, not to have any signs of any kind in the march. The march is about to "take off" when three persons appear, in succession, with signs. They are not connected to each other. The first person is privately instructed to be very stubborn and noncooperative about putting his sign away; the second is cooperative; the third is neutral. The first two were at the meeting the night before; the third was not. Action begins when the first person approaches the march marshal, and the marshal says, "Last night we agreed on no signs, right?" (He poses the same question to each of the others.) The instructor stops the action after the marshal has somehow come to grips with the stubborn individual, then the next person appears. In the course of the discussion with the third individual, the instructor calls out, "They're ready to go," referring to the march. It is important that the marshal not know in advance what the reaction of the three persons will be.

Questions: How do the marshal's feelings about the situation change as the pressure builds up?
How much should the marshal try to placate the individuals, and how firm should he be?
How does time affect the situation?

Cast: Marshall, three persons with signs.



Chapter 5: Direct Action Tactics

One catalogue of nonviolent different methods which have been used. We are taking from this list* the most significant for the current civil

Demonstrations

Demonstrations are primarily a point of view, and do not of the structure as vigorously as nonviolent action might. Nevertheless, the protest and are considered sufficient by many authorities so that they t

1. Marches and parades

Technically, the difference between a parade is that a march has a

*Gene Sharp, Methods of Nonviolent Action, for Social Research, Oslo, Norway

or immediate importance to the cause, whereas a parade route is chosen for convenience. Both may be short or long. Mass marches and parades can express the solidarity of the campaigners and be an important morale-booster.

The common way of discrediting marches and parades is to describe them as disorderly and violent. You can take two steps to eliminate the validity of this charge:

- a. Have either silence, or singing in unison. Both make a powerful impression of unity and dignity. Slogan-shouting and conversation build an impression of disunity and disorder.
- b. Set up a system of leadership. Experience shows it is helpful to have a marshall and a number of line leaders who, once policy is set, follow the directions of the marshall. The leadership helps in two ways: keeping discipline, and building the morale of the marchers. In addition, more efficient decisions can be made in the event of police interference, etc. Leaders should be clearly marked, and should set an example for others to follow.

A long march is often called a walk. The best known civil rights walk is the one William Moore began through the South, and which others continued when he was killed. The Committee for Nonviolent Action has organized two walks for peace and freedom through the South which had to contend with cattle-prods and the like. The effect of a walk can be somewhat like that of the Freedom Rides -- to dramatize an issue

and give a morale boost to the
through which the walkers go.

2. Picketing and vigiling

The difference between p
that a vigil is longer and held i
Often a vigil is held around-the
or may be daily for weeks or e
customary for participants in a
than walk, as in picketing. In
where religion is held in high e
times more effective than pick
slightly more wearying and rec
group-discipline. The remark
apply here, to both picketing a

Sample Discipline

We will try to maintain an attitude of good will at all times, especially in face of provocation.

If violence occurs against us, we will not retaliate but will try to practice forgiveness and forbearance.

We agree that one person is in charge of specific actions and agree to abide by the decisions of the person in charge, even if at the time we do not fully agree with or understand the decision.

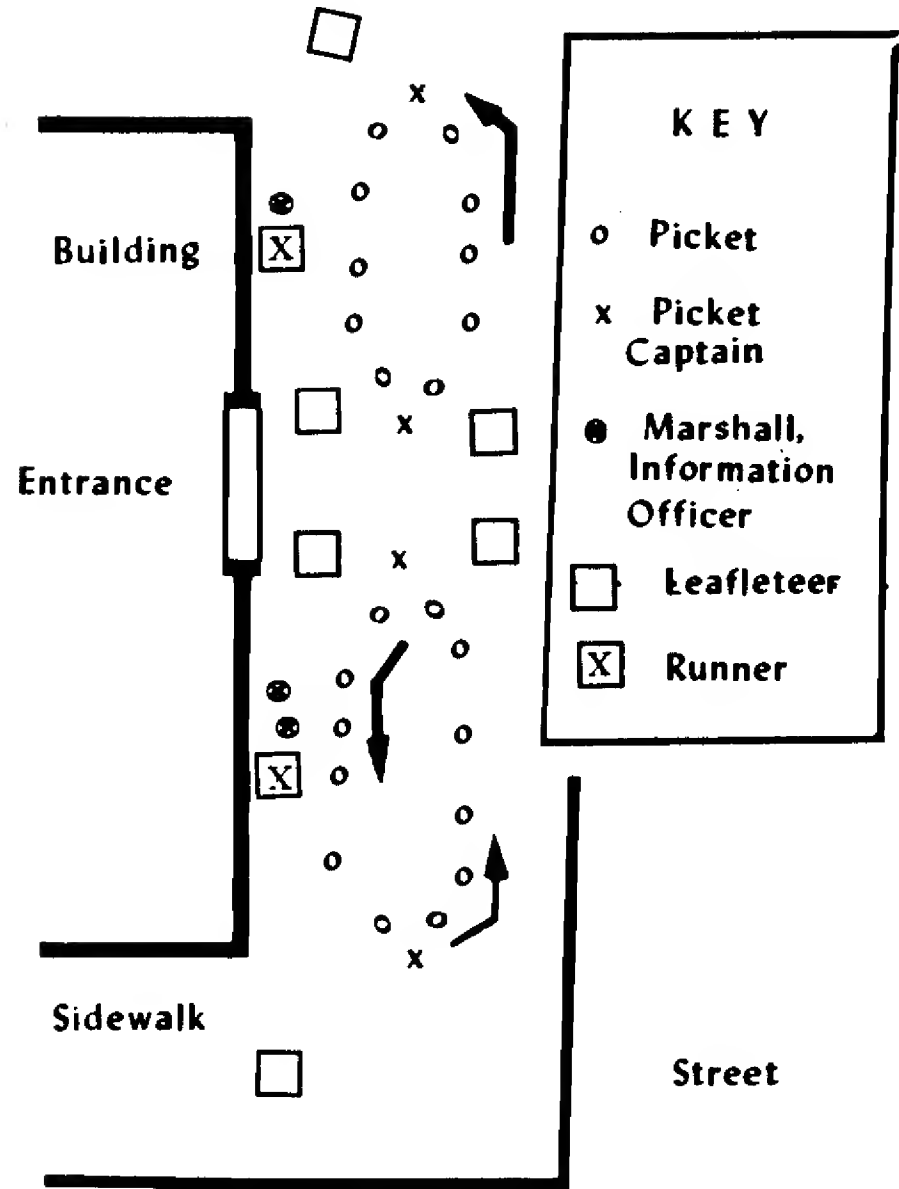
If in good conscience we cannot comply with this decision, we will not take contrary action but will withdraw from that phase.

In the event of arrest, we will submit with promptness and composure.

We will try to be prompt in our appointments and to carry out responsibly the tasks we have been assigned.

- slightly revised from
Charles C. Walker,
Organizing for Non-
violent Direct Action

THE PICKET LINE



Here are some suggestions which will help you to organize an effective picket line.*

- a. Assemble somewhere other than the place where the picket line will be, then go to the place in a group; this avoids confusion and gives the leader a chance to pass out printed copies of the discipline (see sample discipline in this chapter) as well as to conduct registration.
- b. Ask participants to refer questioners, press, or police to the marshal or information officer.
- c. Expect participants to walk erectly and not slouch, call out, laugh loudly, or use profanity; smoking may be ruled out in some situations.
- d. Assign two leafleteers to each location, so leafleting can go on if one leafleteer gets involved with a questioner.
- e. Instruct leafleteers on how to answer very briefly when asked "What is this all about?" or "Who's doing this?" or similar questions.
- f. Ask leafleteers to pick up all discarded leaflets (to avoid legal entanglements and to show good will).
- g. Keep leaflets in a plastic bag in rainy weather.
- h. Avoid unnecessary scurrying about.
- i. Give instructions in a clear and authoritative voice but avoid a domineering approach.
- j. Remember that your example will be felt throughout.

*The following is largely from Charles C. Walker, Organizing for Nonviolent Direct Action

3. Fraternization

This technique has been used by a foreign power, as well as by the oppressed. The idea is to go out of the way to meet and persuade other opponents in a friendly way. It has been tried and has on occasion been successful, as some instances in Norway testify, but it is not easy.

4. "Haunting"

"Haunting" is a means of reminding opponents of the reality of their behavior; volunteers go where they go. In India during the 1930s, arrests were made but the volunteers were not by others who "haunted" the arrested. The arrested were sick of it.

5. Leafleting

Leafleting can do several things: (a) provide the people with more information than they get in the newspapers; (b) reach a population more personally (in large communities many people are demonstrators), (c) involve people who otherwise might not actively participate in the struggle.

6. Renouncing honors

There can be some symbolic impact when campaigners renounce honors given them in the past. For example, Negro veterans might send back medals of honor; a Negro "Woman of the Year" might refuse the award from an institution which is part of the power structure. Negro students might send back their American Legion School Awards.

Some of the techniques which come under the heading of demonstrations may become civil disobedience if the city declares them illegal. Injunctions may be issued by courts forbidding marches or picketing. Where the Constitution is in operation, however, these methods do not usually involve breaking the law.

Non-cooperation

This general category involves methods of direct action in which the campaigners withdraw their usual degree of cooperation with the opponent. The methods may be legal or illegal, depending on local laws.

1. Strike

The strike is one of the best known of all forms of direct action. It has not, however, been used very much in the civil rights struggle. It would be most potent in those areas where Negroes form a very large part of the population or of some economic concern which is important to the area. A form of the strike

which might be experimented with is to go on strike. In a token strike all those sympathetic to the cause go off the job for a brief time -- perhaps a few hours. This is a way of showing seriousness.

2. Hartal

The Indians under Gandhi developed the hartal extensively, but it was also used in Budapest during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. A hartal is staying at home for a full day or more, leaving shops and places of amusement empty. In the case of the hartal, the chances of "incidents," the stay-at-home is used to demonstrate to the opponent the discipline among the people. In the case of the hartal, it stresses the religious aspects, the day is a time for meditation and purification.

3. Consumers' Boycott

From the Montgomery bus boycott to the recent boycotts, the boycott has played an important role in the struggle. This method has roots in the past and even farther back in history, and it is used all over the world. Its effectiveness depends on the support of the producer requires the campaigners' survival.

Advantages of the boycott include (a) it promotes non-violence, (b) it promotes solidarity

does not usually involve civil disobedience. On the other hand it usually requires a good deal of unity on the part of the protesting community.

4. Renters' boycott (rent-strike)

The refusal to pay rent because of grievances against a landlord may be for a short period (token boycott) or indefinitely. Irish peasants in 1879 were often evicted for refusing rents to rich English landlords. Whether or not eviction takes place depends partly on the number of persons participating, and on the nature of the local laws.

In the current civil rights struggle, workers go from house to house, apartment to apartment, talking with people about the injustice of their situation. They invite tenants to an area or house meeting, where the possibilities of united action are stressed. Those who will commit themselves at the meeting begin to strike right away -- there is little to be gained by setting a date in the future for the beginning of the action. The action of the few who first volunteer will usually start a wave of others joining the strike.

Guidelines for organization include: being realistic in explaining to the tenants what may happen (no one can guarantee major repairs); staying in close contact with the tenants to offset intimidation; and not allowing the tenants to keep the rent money (the temptation is too great to spend it in this situation). This

money should be put "in escrow" aside for this purpose. The funds should be accounted for.

Local regulations differ in many details. It is important to get legal advice. Sometimes constables themselves break through the door to effect eviction. In addition to counter-demonstrations, action, picketing the constables' homes, and a "sit-in" walk in front of the house are other tactics which may be tried.

5. School boycott

One of the advantages of a school boycott is that it involves the children in the struggle, which result in their eventual benefit, and in putting them in a front-line confronting the dangers. The setting up of a school where teaching the young can be a valuable experience in the Negro community who are not allowed to involve.

6. Tax refusal

This is a drastic tactic, but it has been used in struggles in the past in many parts of the world. It can be partial, such as refusing to pay taxes, or complete. The money that would go for taxes can be given to the community for distribution to needy campaigns.

opponents feel this tactic more deeply than almost any other, for if the Negro population is large it threatens the very survival of the government. Harsh repression may, therefore, be expected. Despite this, the strong moral appeal involved ("Why pay the police who are beating you?") and the strength of the tactic has made tax refusal effective in some campaigns.

Intervention

Direct nonviolent intervention consists of physical confrontation rather than withdrawal of cooperation or demonstrating. It carries the conflict into the opponent's camp, and often changes the status quo fairly abruptly.

1. Sit-in

The sit-in has been used in the U.S. mostly in restaurants and lunch counters. Generally campaigners progressively occupy a large number or all of the available seats and refuse to leave until the Negro members of the group are served or the restaurant closes, the group is arrested, or a certain fixed period of time has gone by. This method can also be used in other situations such as on buses and trains, as in the Freedom Rides. There have been sit-ins in the offices of notables such as mayors and business executives in order to obtain appointments or to symbolize the blocking of freedom in which the official is participating. Legislative halls can be used similarly.

Nonviolent Discipline of Student Sit-In M

Don't strike back or cur

Don't laugh out.

Don't hold conversation

Don't leave your seats u
given you instruction t

Don't block entrances to
aisles.

Show yourself courteous

Sit straight and always f

Report all serious incid

Refer all information to
manner.

Remember love and nonv

May God bless each of y

Allied methods are the stand-in, where people line up for admission to a theater or similar place; the wade-in, in which campaigners attempt to swim at a segregated beach; and the kneel-in, in which Negroes try to worship at a church which excludes them.

2. The fast

The fast was used as a method of psychological intervention by, among others, Danilo Dolci when he led 1000 unemployed fishermen in a 24 hour mass fast on a beach in Sicily. The fast can be of heightened effectiveness when undertaken by persons of high status, such as ministers. Gandhi, the best-known faster, considered this the most difficult of all techniques and emphasized that it should be thought through carefully. This is especially true of the fast unto death. Experience with the fast in Albany, Georgia, by peace walkers indicates that clarity of purpose and realistic time periods are important. Efforts must be made to overcome the misunderstanding which comes in a society where "good living" is prized and self-denial is looked down on.

Gandhi believed that fasting is most effective when there is a close relationship between the faster and the opponent.

3. Reverse strike

This method has been found effective in various situations. Agricultural workers have done more work

and worked longer hours than the support of their demand for pay. Employed in Sicily in 1956 voluntarily laid down a road that was badly in need of repair to draw attention to the severe unemployment and the government's failure to deal with it. This method looks harmless enough, but it has in practice been regarded as a threat so that reverse-strikers have been imprisoned, and even in some cases killed attempting to stop them from working.

4. Nonviolent interjection

This involves placing oneself between a person and the objective of his work. In this country workers in the construction industry have used this method on other construction sites, to protest against discrimination in hiring and promotion of workers. Striking hosiery workers in Pennsylvania, in 1957 lay down on the highway in front of factory gates making it necessary for trucks to walk over them to get into the factory. In early 1964 at a construction site several actionists lay down in front of a dozer; a minister, seeing that they were moving in the reverse direction, lay down behind them and was killed. We should remember

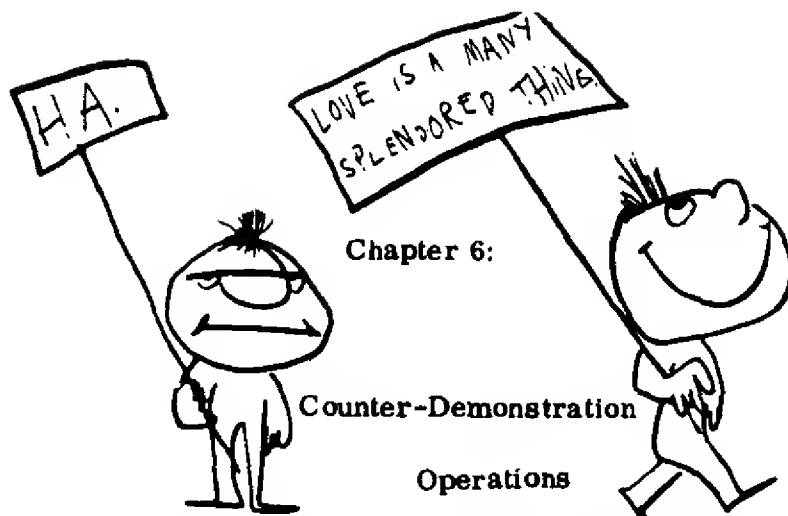
ing situation the operator might not look in both directions before moving his machine.

There is more danger of injury or death when one or a few persons engage in interjection than when a great many participate. An example of the latter case, called obstruction, occurred in Japan in 1956 when 10,000 people physically occupied a site intended for a U.S. air base. After several days of obstruction the plans for building the air base were abandoned.

Even while this manual is being prepared some individual or group is probably devising still other forms of nonviolent direct action. One of the elements of non-violence is the creativity which it stimulates, and the reader will probably want to experiment with new forms of nonviolent struggle. Not all of them will be really effective, and some will collapse as did the World's Fair "stall-in," in April, 1964. In evaluating a new tactic before trying it out, the thoughtful civil rights worker will ask:

1. Is it clearly related to the issue?
2. Are the people it will inconvenience really the people heavily involved in the injustice?
3. Is there chance of direct confrontation between the campaigners and the opponent?
4. Does the tactic put a major part of the suffering which is inevitable in social change upon our shoulders, rather than upon innocent bystanders?

If the answer to these questions is yes, the tactic may be worth trying.



The authors have had only limited experience with some of the more serious types of counter-demonstration operations (police and mob violence against public demonstrations), hence it would be foolish of us to give a lot of "advice." A number of experts have suggested that in any case one should not become too preoccupied with trying to cope with police tactics because such efforts keep you from the basic objectives of nonviolent demonstrations. They bog you down in trying to outguess the police, and you lose sight of the basic goals -- to promote a society of justice. There are, however, some ideas which can increase the effectiveness of civil rights workers when faced with police and mob violence, or at least cut the physical risks, while maintaining the basic integrity of the demonstration and its participants.

Remember that the opponent would like, if possible, to provoke your group into wild statements, inaccurate

or exaggerated accusations, name-calling, undignified behavior, disorderly behavior, in-fighting, desertion from the ranks, and so on. In trying to avoid these actions, some elementary rules

1. Improve the educational tools by which violence is prevented. These include other training, discipline, group and what it stands for.
2. In a demonstration, receive instructions from assistants, break ranks except to
3. If you are the victim or too severely disabled, violent initiatives. For voice you might say, "question?" If someone you might go to the attacker from his victim in a situation.
4. Remember that you must be restrained. You must for new ways to take the spirit of the goals and group might, for instance singing a hymn together.
5. It is the authors' opinion not appeal to the police, their own accord protectors, they likely will intervene only to stop that should be your decision to build a society of justice.

(The above is based partly on Walker, Organizing for Nonviolent Direct Action.)

By police we include here police operations engaged in by units of the State and National Guard. Federal troops have been used in only a few cases, notably Little Rock and the University of Mississippi. Civil rights workers will want to remember that in the latter case Negro troops were systematically excluded from duty at the University, resulting in considerable unrest and, according to a confidential informant, a near mutiny at one point. As individuals, Federal troops generally will tend to be friendly to the civil rights movement partly because of the nature of their duty, partly because of their racial composition, and partly because they resent local hostility which is aimed at

"Tough" policing of civil rights protests is divided into two types: the "Alabama System" and the "Mississippi System." The former provides police protection for legitimate protests, while the latter permits the formation of mobs, as seen in the case of the Freedom Riders in 1961. The latter system uses the formation of mobs, and uses violence to crush civil rights demonstrations. The latter system is more effective than the former, as it is more efficient under the protection of "law and order." The police do not use the "Alabama System" because they thought that they never use the latter system. There are at least two variations of the straight-forward, "hard" line approach. The other variation appears to be more face and attempts to disarm, persuade, and lead by leadership and rank-and-file by only later pulling off the soft glove.

police command may appear to side with the demonstrators, asking them to sing a few songs or lead the group in prayer (this happened on the part of the Maryland State Guard in Cambridge in May, 1964), before asking them politely to disperse. This can be coupled with veiled threats to have leading demonstrators committed for observation to mental institutions, which also happened in Cambridge -- this threat seems to be more severe than simple prison. But the objective is the same: to disperse demonstrators at all costs.

Given the basic objective of the civil rights movement in a demonstration, namely to publicize a wrong, confront the community with the facts, and sometimes create dislocation in order to secure action, police tactics are only half of the picture. The leadership ability, perspectives, and organization of the civil rights demonstrators are also important. The best possible combination is to have a well-organized, well-educated movement, combined with generally accepted and legal police tactics. The worst is to have neither. Most demonstrations fall somewhere in between. But even under the worst kind of police repression, if the movement is well-disciplined the basic objective need not be lost. Basic objectives can be lost in a host of charges and counter-charges if the movement is disorganized, no matter how enlightened the police may be.

Discipline which maximizes the effectiveness of a demonstration involves a well-defined set of clear lines of command and control, and a clear understanding by the participants of the variety of circumstances. Coming to a demonstration to communicate, the objective is not only to the general public but also to the police. An advance is considered an imposition. A dignified bearing at all times is essential, particularly when making physical contact. Calling a demonstration off at the first sign of treating in the face of police or a threat is not okay; but it should be done by police in as orderly a manner as is possible under the circumstances. This points up the "irresponsibility" and makes it more difficult to control a group with being nothing but a "disorderly" "irresponsible agitators." Dignified behavior has a definite effect upon police and onlookers. It breaks down their prejudiced notions and makes violent tactics an essential part of a demonstration, and even of an orderly demonstration.

Police Tactics

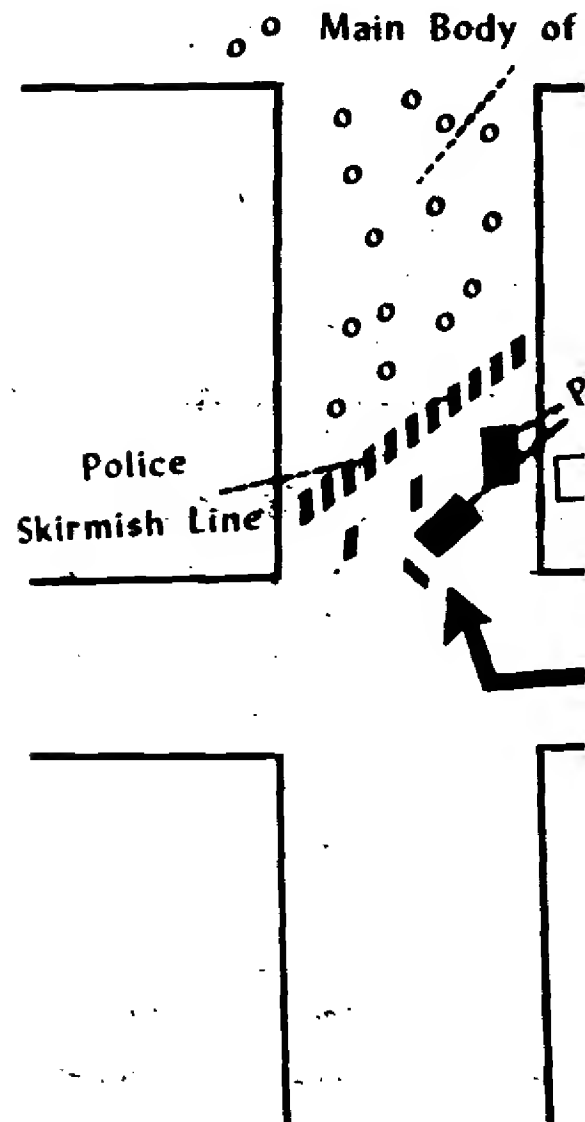
Here are some comments on "Police Tactics and Demonstration Operations" in terms of speaking to the police, so that you will have some idea of the things you may expect.

(1) Police and troops, once they have been given their orders, do not care about the objective of a demonstration. They look only at the behavior of the demonstrators: is this a crowd, or a mob, or a riot? Intelligent officers have learned that to break up a crowd an officer does well to pick random citizens off the edge and arrest them, rather than attempting to move into the center to arrest, say, a street speaker. A crowd in motion, usually because of a leader, or because of the appearance of a hated individual, or symbol, is a mob. A riot is a disturbance by three or more persons who want to overcome any opposition to their action by lawful or unlawful means.

(2) Accepted American police practices include having a plan, and acting with all the force necessary to carry out the plan. Intelligent officers do not bluff. They make their intention clear to the crowd or the demonstration, allow time to clear out, and leave avenues of escape (unlike a recent Peruvian sports stadium tragedy in which gas panicked a crowd against barred doors).

(3) A crowd is usually attacked opposite the direction in which police want to drive it. A skirmish line, wedge, or diagonal line is formed across the street, and State, National Guard and Federal troops usually fix bayonets. The effort will be to drive the crowd or demonstration away from sensitive areas, street crossings, objectives of demonstrations such as stores, and to break the crowd up into its individual units by the use of gas, horses, dogs, fire-hoses, etc. Individuals can more easily be controlled and sent home than larger groups. Civil rights workers, under such circumstances, may want to consider the use of "sleeper" elements to divert an attacking police unit by demonstrating in its rear, thereby keeping

the demonstration going a while the pressure off the group under (See diagram)



(4) Tear Gas: Chloracetophenone (CN) or Diphenylamine (DM or Adamsite) are termed "harassing agents" and are usually used in grenade form to demoralize, panic and disperse crowds, mobs and demonstrations. The effects of these gases extend beyond their visible cloud, and include a severe burning sensation in the eyes, choking, sneezing, headaches, and sometimes vomiting. There is no defense against a gas attack except masks or leaving the area. The chief immediate reaction is to panic and run. This should be avoided at all costs. It may help you to know that harassing gases cannot cause permanent injury or death by themselves. Grasp hands of demonstrators near you, and avoid running into the street (and risking getting run over since your visibility is impaired). Retreat in an orderly fashion from the scene. An assembly area should be picked beforehand and demonstrators should reassemble for further orders out of range of the gas. Clothing permeated with fumes should be changed. Persons affected by gas attack should face into the wind (assuming there is no further gas) and/or wash eyes and face in water (stick your head in a bucketful, if possible).

(5) Horses, dogs: The chief purpose of using cavalry and dogs is also psychological, even though it may not seem that way to you. Some dogs are trained only to hold, not to bite, but don't count on it. There are a number of methods which have been used against dogs and horses, but the violence involved is such that we don't recommend trying them. As in the case of gas, the best system is to hold out as long as you can and retreat in an orderly way, and in as dignified a manner as possible under the circumstances. The same thing is true when cattle prods are used. This can be extremely painful, and you should not feel it is disgraceful to retreat. Let your opponents make contact with you, hold out as long as you think wise or possible, and retreat in an orderly fashion.

Do not sit or lie down in front of horses you are prepared for severe, crippling

(6) Fire hoses: This is similar, except that hold on in a human chain you may be able to withstand the pressure and not have to lie down. Hosing is usually followed by other crowd control demonstration operations, however.

(7) White participants: The white participants are singled out for special treatment by local elements of the civil rights movement. As he is seen as a traitor, which is worse than being a Negro. His presence in the struggle serves to undermine the delicate structure of thinking and excuses which most white Southerners have created for themselves to account for segregation and discrimination. His presence by itself tells them their system is wrong. It is a shock. Therefore, it infuriates. He has to be accounted for: the white participants are seen as an outside agitator, a Communist, a nigger, a light-skinned Negro, and, if a woman, a prostitute. For no real white person (really one from "our way of life") could walk with a sign, could "want a Negro to marry his daughter." Violence, if it erupts, tends therefore to be directed on the white picket. In prison, white inmates will tend to gang up on, and will sometimes try to beat up white integrationist prisoners.

(8) Photographers: Police frequently try to intimidate or harass demonstrators by photographing them. In our opinion there can be no legal reason for this since demonstrating is a legal activity under the Constitution. You will rarely see police (or F.B.I.) photographers because they take photographs of individual demonstrators rather than of the entire action. Regular people are not interested in individuals, and they generally be glad to identify themselves with press cards or union cards. In the long

there is not much point in evading having your picture taken (by keeping signs in front of your face, etc.), and you should not let the demonstration degenerate into a contest between you and the police photographer. On the other hand, you should not allow group pictures to be taken by unidentified photographers. As for individual pictures, you will have to make a decision: shall evasive action be taken as a way of making a protest against an invasion of privacy? Or will you demonstrate the fact that you cannot be intimidated by openly, and with good will, permitting the police to "mug" you? This is a policy decision which you should discuss prior to a demonstration.

Chapter 7: Arrest and the Court

If You Are Arrested (adapted from
by the American Civil Liberties

Arrest is taking a person in for an official purpose, generally so that the person can answer for a crime. If you are arrested, you have rights which protect you from unfair treatment. What are your rights if you are innocent. What are your rights if you are guilty? You have the right to ask the police for a lawyer. If you are arrested, you have the right to ask the police for a lawyer.

There are three kinds of crimes which can be arrested in most states: Felonies are the most serious kind. Less serious violations are called misdemeanors and the least serious are called infractions. A policeman does not need a warrant to arrest you for a felony if he sees you commit it, or if he has reason to believe that you have committed and has reason to think you will commit it. A policeman does not need a warrant to arrest you for a misdemeanor or infraction if he has reason to believe that you have committed it.

a misdemeanor or summary offense. In many states he must have a warrant to arrest you for a misdemeanor or summary offense he did not see you commit.

A warrant is an order signed by a justice of the peace or a magistrate (as they are called in some states) or judge. It is made on a complaint by someone. An arrest warrant charges that you committed a crime. The warrant must list the charge against you. It must also direct the policeman to make the arrest and to bring you before a justice of the peace, magistrate, or a judge. If you refuse to admit an officer, he may break open a door or a window to serve a warrant.

Generally a policeman must have a search warrant before he can search your home. The search warrant must describe the premises to be searched and the thing to be searched for. But of course if you consent to a search without warrant, it is legal.

Even if you think you are not guilty, it is a crime to resist an officer who arrests you legally. If you resist a lawful arrest, a policeman can use all necessary force to arrest you. If you think your rights have been violated by the police, you should consult a lawyer about legal remedies.

At the Station House

After you are arrested you go to the police station, where a record is made of the charge against you must be made. To avoid unnecessary delay in the "arresting" you, the police must tell you the charge. In many places police have the right to photograph you.

You have the right to tell your family, or a friend, or an attorney soon after you get to the station house and have been booked. The police must let you speak over a pay phone if you have no money to use a pay phone. You must have some dimes and several pennies to use the phone in case some of those you take with you. You must be given an itemized list of your property taken from you when you are arrested.

It is your right, under the Constitution, to say anything that may be useful to you. After giving the police your name and address, you are forced to answer any questions about the crime. Neither a uniformed policeman nor anyone else may use force or threats. If any force or threats are used, you should report it to your organization. You may not be forced to take a lie detector test.

should not ask to take one without having consulted with your attorney.

After arrest and booking you must be taken before a magistrate or judge without unnecessary delay -- usually within a day. If you are charged with a felony or a misdemeanor such as larceny, conspiracy to incite a riot, etc., the magistrate or justice of the peace does not decide whether you are guilty or innocent. He only decides whether there is a reasonable basis for believing you committed the crime. If he thinks that there is a reasonable basis, he will hold you for court. If you are charged with a summary offense, such as disorderly conduct or disturbing the peace, the justice of the peace or judge himself will decide the case. He will either discharge you, or find you guilty.

In any kind of case before a magistrate or justice of the peace, you have the right (1) to be represented by a lawyer, (2) to be told exactly what the charge against you is, (3) to hear witnesses in support of the charge, and (4) to refuse to speak at all.

In summary offense cases, which the justice of the peace himself decides, you have additional rights. (1) the J. P. must ask you whether you plead guilty or innocent. (2) You may tell your side of the story if you wish. (3) You may have your own witnesses. (4) If the J. P. finds you guilty he must tell you exactly what

you have been found guilty of. If you are denied any of these rights, or imprisoned, you have grounds for your conviction reversed.

Applying for Bail

If the J. P. holds you for a summary offense, you have the right to be released for bail. Bail permits you to get out of jail for a certain amount of money or other security. A proper official to make sure you return. The magistrate will fix the amount of bail. The amount must be reasonable. Your lawyer may ask a higher judge to set bail. On very serious felonies, such as murder, the J. P. is frequently not permitted to set bail. A higher judge may do so. Bail may be for you or your family, or the owner of the property on which the bail is set.

It is a good idea to have a lawyer when you are taken before a magistrate or justice of the peace to minimize the risks to you, and to make sure that the basis of future appeal is the postponement of the hearing if you have not been obtained.

The Realities

The above rights are obviously hypothetical. First of all, rights vary widely from state to state. Secondly, your rights are only as good as the willingness of the authorities in any situation to permit you to have them. Law enforcement agencies, particularly (though not exclusively by any means) in the South need constantly to be reminded that such rights exist, and that they exist for everybody, regardless of race, social class, or sex. Therefore the above outline should not be taken as "legal advice," but rather as a guideline to what should happen in a general way when you are arrested.

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has regularly detailed instance after instance of the deprivation of persons' constitutional rights, as well as the failure of police to protect persons asserting their constitutional rights. (See its reports for 1959, 1961, and 1963.) In addition, many local ordinances and state laws have been passed especially to control civil rights demonstrations (some have been overturned on appeal to the federal courts). A realistic view would therefore be that constitutional rights are an extremely relative matter, and that in many instances involving civil rights activity, the civil rights worker may as well forget they exist. As the U. S. Civil Rights Commission concluded in 1961 (and certainly there is little evidence to suggest improve-

ment since), "police brutality is a serious and continuing problem in the country... Negroes feel the brutality proportionally more than approximately two out of every (received by the Department of the 17 Southern States and the D. Nevertheless, persons arrested formality of trying to obtain their purposes.

Most violations charged will be settled within a State Court procedure outlined above applies to structures. The federal or U.S. and separate. Unless you violate Congress you will rarely find you Civil rights matters that wind up usually matters involving violations granted by a federal district court or appeals from state supreme court preme Court. There are a variety support civil rights (see Appendix remembered that Federal District appointed by the U.S. President grounds, and that both judges and reflect local prejudices more often the F.B.I. has been notoriously

help civil rights demonstrators, even when brutality against demonstrators was proceeding right in front of the agents. (For further details on the structure of court systems, different types of law, and the relationship of the judiciary to the legislative and executive branches of state and federal government, consult any standard Political Science 1 textbook.)

Law Enforcement (see also Chapters 6 and 8)

The first thing to remember is that the enforcement of law in this country is extremely inconsistent. Consistency begins to develop only as state and federal authorities step into a local situation. What are some of the inconsistencies which must be kept in mind?

Injunctions by local, state, and federal authorities may be applied against the movement. An injunction is a court order which forbids a certain type of activity (a boycott, picketing, interfering with school integration) or orders a certain type of activity (to obey the law, to register a voter, to maintain the peace). Violations of injunctions result, generally, in quicker punishment because they involve a "contempt of court" proceeding which can be handled quite fast. Hence leaders can quickly be imprisoned and gotten out of the way.

Local enforcement policy sometimes shifts erratically. In many Southern and some Northern communities

police policy is to stay pretty much in the community altogether, giving the bulk of enforcement; but when violations occur by Negroes outside their community (demonstrations, for example), there is a certain proportion to the danger of the action. In Northern communities, on the other hand, police protect demonstrators and picketers. Without apparent reason, they will use force against demonstrators, almost as if they were picked. This may be because a large number of people brought police into the picture who are concerned with "human relations," or who resent demonstrators who have become frightened by white violence and danger to them. Police officers, in general, reflect local prejudices rather closely.

Do not assume that because a person is a sympathizer he is also a sympathizer. Some Negroes "lean over backwards" to be tough.

Arrest

Nowadays there is no excuse for not calling a demonstration without consequences. There is no excuse for not warning potential participants, saying, "If it happens, it happens." Leaders and followers have the right to deride

the following kinds of information:

1. Why are we demonstrating? What are our specific demands? Is our demonstration communicating our demands, and putting pressure primarily on those who are responsible for our troubles?
2. At what point will it be right to complete or call off demonstration? Do we demonstrate for the sake of blowing off steam, or do we demonstrate to have an effect?
3. Are we likely to be arrested? If so, what measures have been taken to make sure some leadership remains outside? What measures have been taken to make sure some leadership goes inside to lead activities inside jail?
4. Will we accept bail? What are the pros and cons of accepting bail? If we accept bail, what arrangements have been made for the posting of cash, property, or other security? If we do not accept bail, what point are we making? Some demonstrations almost inevitably, by their "civil disobedience" nature will result in arrest. It is sometimes fruitful to fill the jails in order to make the point that the cause of the arrest is unjust. Is this one of those occasions?
5. If arrest and bail are decided on, what shall be the priority of being released? (Students taking exams, and workers whose incomes are needed to support families, first).
6. How much cooperation are we to extend to the police? What are the pros and cons of going limp? Shall we sacrifice our dignified appearance (which has public relations value, and also maintains a certain personal worth) in order to refuse cooperation with an unjust situation?

7. Have you announced your intention of breaking law in advance (where that is appropriate in Northern communities where arrest is likely to come only upon the breaking of law, and after warning)? A prior announcement helps to clarify to the community your purpose and seriousness of intent. In situations such an announcement will warn them and they will try to prevent you access of the demonstration (e.g. a building). If you "in" has some handicaps, and you might not be able to confront the authorities outside (possibly down there). On the other hand sometimes a demonstration, to make its point, must be in a particular place; have you discussed the merits of this issue?
8. The question of paying fines at the magistrate's court or justice of the peace court or higher court should also be discussed in advance of a demonstration likely to lead to arrest. The alternative to paying fines is imprisonment for a specified length of time ("Thirty days or \$100"). Bail is seen as your appearance later in court, hence in this sense only a loan to the power structure must be paid back. But a fine is lost to the movement forever, and furthermore helps to pay the power structure's expenses in running the force, a prison system, segregated schools. Should you contribute to this by paying fines? This must be weighed against even greater losses of wages for some people, if they stay in jail. If we do not want to answer this question fully, but only advocate that it be intelligently discussed in advance. Obviously, in a "jail-in," the concentrated attempt to communicate the breaking of a law by having masses of people break the law, undergo unmerited suffering, it would be better to accept bail, or, later, pay fines. The point is what communicates, not the paying.

9. Will you take legal action against officials who rough you up or otherwise molest you in the course of a demonstration? An attorney should clarify to the group what is involved in such a decision; but the final decision should be yours, not his. Some have said that personal actions against officers who, after all, only reflect a generally evil situation, do not help. On the other hand, it should be made clear to officials that you will not tolerate the illegal enforcement of law. In many cases of brutality it will become necessary for you to document the charges by making out a paper called an "affidavit." You should therefore be clear as to exactly what happened, to whom, and by whom. This should include police officers' badge numbers, what kind of police (sheriffs or county, local police, state police, etc.), physical descriptions. You should try to write down what happened as soon as possible, because people's memories, especially under pressure, play tricks.

10. Your attitude towards the police can contribute to creating a new and better situation. Politeness is often disarming. The polite but firm use of "sir" helps convince the police that you have a regard for them as human beings; it also tells them you will not be bullied.

While we do not seek, here, to give final answers on these many points, we do want to make the point that answers should be arrived at before the demonstration begins. First, it will create a higher sense of morale because participants will know better what to expect, and will feel that the leadership is being responsible and responsive to them. Second, it educates participants as to the principles and purposes of a demonstration. Any participant may find himself a spokesman, if not in a public situation such as a trial, then later at home in the community. Educated participants are agents for the growth of the move-

ment. Participants who simply are sheep to be misled by evil comes down the street.



Chapter 8: Jail

In any demonstration likely to lead to violence and/or arrest, some precautions can be taken which will make life easier. Wear loose clothing in order not to be choked when dragged. Wear decent, tough clothing, but not your best. If you expect to be jailed, wear two sets of underclothes so that you can wear one set while washing the other. This is also helpful padding if you are dragged about by police. An extra pair of socks also helps. Wear a sweater or trenchcoat--cells get cold, and the coat will help cover your legs or serve as a pillow. Take a bunch of kleenex or toilet paper in case that commodity is not available right away. You will probably not be permitted to keep a razor anyhow, but a toothbrush, deodorant, soap, cigarettes, pencil stubs, notepaper, ballpoint pen refills (not as bulky as the pen itself) and small books are sometimes permitted, or can be successfully retained, especially during

arrests involving a lot of people. Don't forget to ask for a receipt if you are given anything.

Do not wear loafers or flip-flops, which you may lose if you are arrested. You should not wear high heels. Do not wear sharpened pencils, pins, or needles. Do not be taken along.

Make sure you have some money before the beginning of any demonstration. Be sure you have several dimes with you, and that someone else has some. You may be going to jail.

For those who wear eyeglasses, carry a hard case to protect your glasses if an arrest appears imminent. If you wear glasses, carry adhesive tape to secure them vertically across your glasses. Carry one piece across each ear, and one down your nose. Do not tie the bridge of your glasses, as they will break.

Varieties of jails

It is hard to generalize about jails. They are put--city and county jails, state jails, and garages are used. The courts use different grades of accommodations: maximum security, unlocked cells open to the public area or cell block (medium security), and cells (maximum security), and cells generally without windows. Wherever you are put you will have a dull routine, starting early in the morning and early in the evening. In spite of this, there is a good deal of tension when

in, and this tension can be the greatest hardship of a jail period.

Inmates

The inmates already there for other offenses are often curious about you and can be your allies in conflicts with prison officials. In one county prison the other inmates, white and Negro, conducted a sit-down strike to back up the demands of the demonstrators that their cell doors be unlocked during the day.

"I remember one night at the jail, a voice called up from the cell block beneath us, where other Negro prisoners were housed. 'Upstairs!' the anonymous prisoner shouted. We replied, 'Downstairs!' 'Upstairs!' replied the voice, 'Sing your freedom song.' And the Freedom Riders sang. We sang old folk songs and gospel songs to which new words had been written, telling of the Freedom Ride and its purpose. Then the downstairs prisoners, whom the jailers had said were our enemies, sang for us."

James Farmer, quoted in Guy and Candie Carawan, We Shall Overcome! (Oak, 1963)

Keeping up morale

Sometimes exhausted ci look forward to jail as a place to catch up on their sleep. This use of jail, but in general other to be found to lick the great enn idleness. There are a number to bolster morale and use up the singing. Many freedom songs prison, and anyone can make the songs you know. Singing solidarity and hope, and also tension.

An extremely important is teaching: prisoners often d lectures, do role-playing, and of nonviolence and direct action one knows something the other can be a time for sharing and Bernard Shaw is supposed to l rather go to jail than to school put any teachers or professors you to full use.

You may be able to think contribute to prison life, such prison newspaper. Some SNC publicized in newspapers and when they had a project of paid cell. In addition to fighting providing short-term goals to projects can demonstrate the tive attitude which the freedom building.

Guards

It may be hard for you to think of some guards as people, but it may be hard for them to think of you that way, too. Keep in mind that they are there to do a job, and protests should be reserved for situations when guards are harsh, rather than when they are simply carrying out duties.

"Our matron, a formidable looking woman from Alabama, was at first very rough with the girls. She rarely spoke, and although we thought she was sympathetic to us as prisoners, we were sure she hated us as Freedom Riders. But some of the girls, in the true nonviolent spirit, saw her as a human being and not as a symbol of authority and oppression. Little by little they began to speak to her. At first it was just 'good morning' or 'thank you,' and then we began to joke with her and have longer and longer conversations. Before I left Parchman she was singing for us on our make-believe radio programs and was often heard humming our freedom songs."

Marilyn Eisenberg, in We Shall Overcome

Agitation inside the jail

Many persons when they see the attitude of Gandhi, which is a grim necessity so much a vice for the cause. If Gandhi even an unjust law, he will accept punishment. This is why it is disobedience rather than cr

However, Gandhi felt that his dignity was being trampled on as a prisoner being violated. In prison became a duty. In many times refused to cooperate with the means of correcting wrongs.

One of the common ways that actionists demonstrate inside is noise-making. Spoons are used there is yelling, and shoes are thrown against the walls until the authorities move. While noise-making is sometimes is not well-suited to maintaining discipline and can get out of control a riot with windows being smashed and guards getting hurt.

Another method of demonstrating is to conduct sit-downs when outside moving from one place to another. A precaution here is that you protect your body as much as possible. You can be damaged and torn when you are dragged if your muscles are

A third method is that of the hunger strike. Generally prisoners engaging in a hunger strike drink water; not to do so is fatal in 10 to 15 days unless there is intravenous injection or force-feeding. Some fasts taking only water have lasted two months or more. Fasting in jail can be a powerful means of protesting prison evils such as segregation. Officials do not like to have deaths occur in their institutions.

* * *

Suggested Rules for Prison (Based on "Handbook for Freedom Army Recruits," Southern Christian Leadership Conference):

1. A Freedom Army recruit should be a model prisoner.
2. Accept jail discipline and its hardships. It's supposed to be rough. It's not supposed to be a picnic.
3. Always act and speak with honesty.
4. Cooperate with prison officials and don't break prison rules unless they are against dignity and self-respect or our principles.
5. You may protest and refuse food served insultingly or uncleanly.
6. Do all jobs to the best of your ability.
7. Do not hesitate to ask for essential spiritual and physical needs, but do not be irritated if you do not get them.
8. Don't take part in improper joking with prison officials.
9. Don't bother trustees and guards with unnecessary errands and asking special privileges and favors.
10. Make no distinction between demonstrators and ordinary prisoners.

11. Ask no favors and claim no special treatment. Ordinary prisoners do not get a special diet. They do not need except for maintaining

12. Remember that guards are not your friends. Try to treat them as such. Do not quarrel with fellow prisoners and do not

13. Do nothing to demoralize fellow prisoners. Take responsibility for keeping your own spirits. Do not take part in anything that might hurt feelings or

Chapter 9:

Nonviolence and Armed Defense



In recent years a sense of desperation has grown in the Negro community. This desperation is rooted in the failure of the civil rights movement to achieve, and of the white power structure to surrender, enough to satisfy. This has resulted in a significant growth of organizations such as, on the one extreme, the Muslims (Black Separatism), and on the other extreme more traditional integrationist groupings which are non-affiliated, tend to be emotional in their tone, and seem reluctant or unable to discuss, advocate, or train followers in nonviolence. The result has been an increase in attacks on the concepts and tactics of nonviolence, and an increasing interest in the tactics of armed defense.

Healthy debate between these two important tendencies in direct action (nonviolence versus armed defense) has been rare. Respected leaders of nonviolent groups have been reluctant to publicize the opposition, and the advocates of armed defense generally do not care about white public

opinion, hence have limited work to Negro circles. But essential if we are to under-
cies, and if we are to have
tive on civil rights in the ne

Advocates of various
Nationalism and armed defe
but are not synonymous) cr
on these general grounds:

Argument 1: Nonviolence
out for the safety and life of
ers of nonviolent movement
spilling "our" blood, rather
This is nonsense. Why should
made to suffer? Who are the
willing to sacrifice their fol
madmen? It is important to
and the lives of our families
do this because it does noth
on the part of mobs, police
In order to avoid many kind
against innocent Negroes, a
violent reprisals against ci
it is necessary to make sur
understand that the price of
In many instances, notably
"deterrence theory" has paid
that Negroes are armed and
deters aggression.

Rebuttal:

In any direct action ca
opponents are determined,
suffer. This is the experie

the strategy is violent or nonviolent. The cost of social change is often high and the brunt of it is always taken by those who have most to gain.

The real question is not, "How can the suffering be avoided?" The question is, "How can it be minimized?" In case after case the violent strategy has brought more suffering on the heads of the innocents than the nonviolent strategy. This is even true on a national level

-- compare the freedom struggles of India and Kenya, against the same British power. The nonviolent Indians lost fewer lives and had fewer injured than the Mao Mao movement of Kenya, despite the fact that the Indian movement was larger and lasted longer.

Violence does not deter violence in the long run and often not even in the short run. Again and again in the civil rights struggle police have been itching to shoot into demonstrations but have not because they could not find the excuse of "self-defense" or "rioting." Sometimes in nonviolent struggles the rulers have sent spies into the movement to start violence so they would have an excuse to mow the campaigners down.

The argument for violence in self-defense assumes that the opponents are more afraid of violence than of nonviolence. This may be true of individual policemen, but it is not true of their bosses. Violence is what police and armies know how to deal with - they are experienced in this. What baffles them is the use of disciplined nonviolence -- they actually do not know what to do with it. Imagine 1000 Negroes in Birmingham setting up barricades and shooting it out

after extreme provocation -- this and the government has won bigger gains. 1000 Negroes, however, have been down in Birmingham for several months. Nonviolence is simply harder and if your job is to preserve the status quo you will be more afraid of it.

In Hungary in 1956 the revolution used nonviolent tactics, and as long as nonviolent real gains were made. When Hungary joined the movement and it became a revolution, ever, the Russians knew what to do. The revolution was brutally crushed. The Hungarians who felt "protected" at that stage.

In short, then, nonviolence is not a better brutality than violence does. If you are looking for a 100% guarantee of action, then you do not belong in the struggle for social change. Freedom

Argument 2: Nonviolence is a potential militancy of the Negro core, giving a theory of struggle which is Nonviolence may be "nice," and the approval of parts of the white power structure but it can never mount the kind of power structure that will be necessary. The moment that kind of attack is made, reprisals will be fierce, and the Negroes used to defending themselves, will be disillusioned, apathetic, or will be killed.

Rebuttal:

The answer to this lies in the history of the last ten years. It was nonviolent leadership which taught Montgomery Negroes in 1956 that they must struggle for their freedom, that no one could give it to them. The significant militant movements in terms of mass support and gains have been nonviolent. It is strange reasoning which sees the thousands of Negroes now involved in the civil rights struggle who were not involved before as an example of "drained militancy."

Argument 3: Nonviolence does not make sense in this country, and particularly in the Negro community. This nation is based on a tradition of armed struggle against oppression: Lexington and Concord, the Slave Uprisings, the Raid on Harper's Ferry, were all in the American tradition. Nonviolence is foreign to this nation's ways of doing things. Furthermore, the heart of the Negro community itself (especially the urban slum ghetto) is used to violence. Negroes have for centuries been the victims of violence, and this has become a part of their way of life. Nonviolence is a tactic of the white middle-class intellectual, not of the Negro working-class. Ultimately, it violates the "survival common sense" of the Negro urban masses.

Rebuttal:

If this statement were true it would not be very important, for any way of life must have new elements introduced constantly in order to remain vigorous and alive. But in fact, it is not true.

The roots of nonviolence go back to Puritan Massachusetts. The nonviolent boycott was used during the 18th and 19th centuries. The history of this country is full of the same sometimes alongside violence.

Our way of life includes values which go better with nonviolence. We believe in respect for human personality, we believe in the Golden Rule, we believe in brotherhood as an ethic, certainly a part of the Negro ethic (and that of the Negro working class). We believe that we can overcome evil with good. The elements make nonviolence a way of life" so well that more and more are adopting it as an ethic for themselves.

Argument 4: Racism is the product of diseased minds. Racism cannot be dealt with by thought-processes and procedures (to "convert" the racist) of nonviolence (which is far less important to "convert" the racist than it is to remove his oppression and eliminate his threat to the oppressed). This can be done by restraint and nonviolence for while armed defense may be still rational enough to use, nonviolence on his part will result in inaction. Would the church in Birmingham have been bombed if it had been a nonviolent prominent racists would suffer as punishment for anything.

Rebuttal:

Nonviolent action does not work primarily on the rational level. If discussion and reasoning were enough to convert segregationists, nonviolent action would not be necessary. It is because the power of logic is not enough that nonviolent action was devised, for nonviolence brings three more kinds of power: economic power, political power, psychological power.

Economic power - This has already been discussed under strategy and tactics. Using arms in self-defense adds nothing to this power.

Political power - This involves making it difficult for the politicians to rule without making concessions. Mass demonstrations are powerful on this level: they make it appear that the politicians are not in control. This is why demonstrations are often attacked even though they do not seem to be threatening anything.

Using arms in self-defense does not add anything to this power, since it only relieves the authorities of some of their difficulties in repressing the demonstrations.

Psychological power - There are racists who have been converted, and many moderates who have moved closer to the civil rights struggle as a result of this power. Using violence would detract seriously from this power. Would the Christian Church be involved as much as it is in the struggle for change if the movement had been violent?

A final point on the question of the sane and diseased minds: psychiatric mental hospitals now use nonviolence with the mentally ill and it heals better. For further information on this psychological power work, see Lakey, NVA: How It Works (Wallingford, Pa.)

Argument 5: Finally, w to shove, the power structure is in defending its privileges. It works very well when there is not much at stake, a cup of coffee, a few votes here and there, a dum and tweedle-dee, a hand of cards. When it comes to votes in areas where large proportions of the population are of their nature as workers and people, it creates a social revolution by itself. When it comes to real numbers of people, when the Negro movement begins to build real citadels of the power elite, it will be shown, and we will be shown. All the protestations of Christ and all the arms will save us.

Rebuttal:

In this argument means 170,000,000 whites will give up their arms for 20,000,000 Negroes to give up their arms, then there is no hope. With .22 rifles and dynamite we can defeat tanks, planes and over the top. Trying this guerilla-type terrorism

bring only terror, hardship, and death, and most of that to Negroes.

Fortunately we have seen this argument before and know something of its validity. Workers in this country were once told that only violent revolution will accomplish real gains, that the ruling class in America would not willingly give up enough to allow for a decent wage and decent working conditions. As we know, this was false, for the workers found a means of struggle which enabled them to apply pressure and still attract allies in church and government. The labor movement would be in better state today if it had been more principled in its devotion to brotherhood and nonviolence, but even so workers accomplished a lot of what believers in violence said was impossible.

More important than the reasons for the impracticality of armed defense, though, is the way a man looks at himself. Does he want to bring into a moral revolution the use of immoral means? Does he want personally to fall into the trap of saying "That man is not my brother, is not even a human being, is worthy of my contempt and my bullet"? The surest way of encouraging evil to spread is to let it engulf your own heart.

Appendix A: Bibliography

The Negro in America centuries of oppression. He his manhood, and he has also history. It is important, in self-worth of an individual, sense of who he is, and of his ignorance of Negro history college level contributes to views of Negroes by whites, Negro's self-esteem. As the Melville J. Herskovits point The Myth of the Negro Past American Negro, in discovering past, has added assurance to future." Workers therefore to become familiar with Negro transmit what they learn to the The purpose of this appendix is to good sources on this neglected

The history of Negro people West African slave ship, W civil war South period, see (above) and Herbert Aptheker

Revolts in the United States, 1526-1860 (International Publishers, 1939). On the Reconstruction Period and the era of the agrarian discontent (roughly, to 1896) a handy and well-written work is C. Vann Woodward's The Strange Career of Jim Crow (Oxford U. Press, 1955), or see his longer, more scholarly Origins of the New South (L.S.U. Press, 1951). Following the collapse of Populism disillusionment and apathy characterized Negro political and social life. The non-political nature of the period was symbolized by the philosophy of Booker T. Washington. Rayford W. Logan analyses this epoch in The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901. (Dial Press, 1954). This era was quickly followed by the Niagara Movement and the founding of the N.A.A.C.P., by W.E.B. DuBois and others--see his Dusk of Dawn (Harcourt, Brace 1940) or the biography by Francis L. Broderick, W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis (Stanford U. Press, 1959).

The turn of the century marked the beginnings of large-scale migration of Southern Negroes into Northern cities. Good background material is to be found in the superb volume by W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (Knopf, 1941). The development of the urban political machine is discussed in Drake and Cayton's Black Metropolis (Harcourt, Brace, 1945) and in Harold F. Gosnell's Negro Politicians (U. of Chicago Press, 1935)--both are about Chicago. A different view which casts an interesting light on Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's career is his Marching Blacks (Dial Press, 1945). A superb analysis of the Negro's potential political power, as well as much essential information about Southern politics in general, is V.O. Key's Southern Politics in State and Nation (Knopf, 1950).

With urbanization came A. Philip Randolph's early years in Brailsford Brazeal's The Being Car Porters (Harper, 1946) survey is Herbert R. Northrup and the Negro (Harper, 1944),

The disappointments of in a backlash of Negro separatist movement, possibly the large in this country to date. Edwa Moses (U. of Wisconsin, 196 and of course the more up-to-movement is covered by C. E. Black Muslims in America (B E. U. Essien-Udom's Black M 1962). The Communist Party, separate state for Negroes, a Party policy can be traced in The Negro and the Communist Press, 1951).

The Negro's cultural country should not be neglected survey. Of particular interest of Alain Locke, a short survey The Negro in American Culture the interesting memoir by R. A-Coming (Houghton-Mifflin, what more specialized The Negro (Yale U. Press, 1958) by Rob to an understanding of Negro the works of Richard Wright, Son, Ralph Ellison's Invisible and novels of James Baldwin, It On The Mountain. Also see important The Other America

The recent period of protest probably began in 1941 with the March On Washington Movement, carefully described by Herbert Garfinkel in When Negroes March (Free Press, 1959). The Bible of the movement remains Martin Luther King's description of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Stride Toward Freedom (Harper, 1958). Two other recent surveys of the current protest are Dan Wakefield's Revolt in the South (Evergreen, 1960) which covers the early sit-in period and its background, and Louis Lomax' The Negro Revolt (Harper, 1962), which is more up-to-date. An alternative course of action (armed defense) is suggested in Robert F. Williams' Negroes With Guns (Marzani and Munsell, 1962).

For those interested in a closer look at problems of community structure, Floyd Hunter's Community, Power and Structure (Anchor, 1953) remains standard. Negro community life is examined in Drake and Cayton (cited above); John Dollard's Caste and Class in a Southern Town (Anchor, 1949) is also still good. On the psychological level Gordon W. Allport's The Nature of Prejudice (Anchor, 1958) still leads the field, and for powerful insights into Negro psychology Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey's The Mark of Oppression (Meridian, 1962) is tops. Negro family life is discussed in the standard Negro Family in the U.S. (Dryden, 1948) by the Negro scholar E. Franklin Frazier, and also in his well-known Black Bourgeoisie (Collier, 1962). A good general text on Negro history is John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom (Knopf, 1957). Arnold Rose's condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's The American Dilemma (still the top work in the field), entitled

The Negro in America (Beacon, 1962) is a handy reference work.

Not much has yet been written but Mulford Sibley's anthology The Negro in America (Anchor, 1963) is valuable, as is Martin Luther King (cited above). Leo Kuper's Race and Social Change in South Africa (Yale, 1957) and Richard B. Gregg's The Power of the Negro (Fellowship, 1959 ed) is the best exposition of the concept and its ramifications.

Hadley Cantril's The Psychology of Prejudice (Wiley, 1941) has very much to say in it on mob behavior, and Killian's Racial Crisis in America (Prentice-Hall, 1962) has a solid section on bi-racial conflict and other current matters. Negotiations in Dean and Rosen's A Manual of Negotiations (U. of Chicago Press, 1955), and speaking, Guy and Candie Carawan's Overcome! (Oak, 1963) is the com-

Appendix B: Some Important Legal Documents Involving Civil Rights

1. The Bill of Rights (first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution).

Article 1: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article 2: A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article 3: No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article 4: The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

Article 5: No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be

subject for the same offense be placed in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall, in any criminal case to be tried by him, himself, nor be deprived of property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article 6: In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and Territory where the crime shall have been committed, or in which he shall have previously been convicted, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

...

Article 8: Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

...

2. The Post-Civil War Amendments:

Article 13: (Section 1) --Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

(Section 2) --Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article 14: (Section 1) -- All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

(Section 2) --Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male (Article 19 now includes female--authors) inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in

the proportion which the number of male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in that State.

...

(Section 5) --The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Article 15: (Section 1) --The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

(Section 2) --The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. U.S. Criminal and Civil Code Sections:
(Caution: do not attempt to interpret the wordings without the aid of an attorney. For further assistance, see Vol. 5, "Justice," of the 1960 U.S. Civil Rights Commission Report.) (All Sections only in part)

U. S. Criminal Code Section 241: "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same;

"If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured--

"They shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both."

Section 242: "Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States... shall be fined not more than \$1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

Section 243: "No citizen possessing all other qualifications which are or may be prescribed by law shall be disqualified for service as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States, or

of any State on account of the condition of servitude; and no officer or other person shall be liable for the selection or summoning of a jury if he fails to summon any citizen who is able to be fined not more than \$5,000."

Federal Civil Statute Section 1983: "Whoever, under color of any statute, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and law, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proceeding for redress."

Section 1985 (3): "If two or more persons, including at least one citizen of the State or Territory conspire to deprive, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges and immunities under the laws, or for the purpose of intimidating the constituted authorities of any State or Territory from giving or securing to any person or class of persons within such State or Territory the equal protection of the law. . .

". . . if one or more persons conspire to deprive, or cause to be done, any person or class of persons of the object of such conspiracy, or if any person injured in his person or property by such conspiracy of having and exercising any right, privilege, or immunity of a citizen of the United States, or if any person injured or deprived may have

recovery of damages, occasioned by such injury or deprivation, against any one or more of the conspirators."

NOTE

Section 1986: "Every person who, having knowledge that any of the wrongs conspired to be done, and mentioned in section 1985 of this title, are about to be committed, and having power to prevent or aid in preventing the commission of the same, neglects or refuses so to do, if such wrongful act be committed, shall be liable to the party injured ...for all damages caused by such a wrongful act..."

Appendix "C" to "Manual for Direct Action," by Oppenheimer and Lakey

(Security Notes for Deep South Work, adapted from COFO suggestions)

TRAVEL (a) When persons leave their project they must call the home project person-to-person on arrival at their destination in person. If they are reported missing, personnel will notify central hq. A system of daily reports will note all changes in personnel, transfers, etc. Phones should be used only when there is no time to use mail. Care should be taken to avoid using full names of persons over the phone. Checklists to keep track of all personnel at all times should be maintained.

(b) Doors of cars should be locked at all times. At night, windows should be rolled up as much as possible. Gas tanks should have locks and be kept locked. Hoods should also be locked.

(c) No one should go anywhere alone, especially not in an automobile, or at night. Travel at night should be avoided unless absolutely necessary.

(d) Remove all objects from your car which could be construed as weapons: hammers, files, iron rules, etc. No liquor bottles, beer cans, etc. should be inside your car. Do not travel with names and addresses of local contacts.

(e) Know all roads in and out of town. Study the county map. Know locations of safe homes and contacts in the county.

(f) When getting out of a car at night, turn car's inside lights off first.

(g) Note any cars which circle offices of Freedom Houses. Take license numbers of all suspicious cars. Note make, model and year. Cars without license plates should be reported at once to project office.

DOMICILE (a) If it can be avoided, try not to sleep near open windows. Sleep at the back of houses, that is, the part farthest from the road or street.

(b) Do not stand in doorways at night with lights on behind you. Draw shades if you sit in lighted rooms. Do not congregate in front of the house. Make sure doors to houses have locks and are kept locked.

(c) Keep records of all suspicious events, e.g. cars circling around the house or office. If an incident occurs, or seems about to occur, call the project, and also notify local FBI and police.

(d) Under some circumstances it may be advisable for new personnel to make themselves known to local police, introduce themselves, and tell them their reason for being in the area.

(e) A telephone should be installed. If a private phone is used, put a lock on it; otherwise, install a pay phone.

PERSONAL (a) Carry identification at all times. Men should carry draft cards.

(b) All drivers should have in their possession drivers licenses, registration papers, and bills of sale. The information should also be on record with the project director. If you are carrying supplies, it is well to have a letter authorizing the supplies from a particular individual, in order to avoid charges of carrying stolen goods.

(c) Mississippi is a "dry" state, but though liquor is ostensibly outlawed, it is available readily. You must not drink in offices or Freedom Houses. This is especially important for persons under 21.

(d) Avoid bizarre or provocative clothing, and beards. Be neat.

(e) Make sure that medicines prescribed for you by a physician are clearly marked with your name and the doctor's name, etc.

POLICE Under no circumstances should you give the address of the local person with whom you are living, his or her name, or the names of any local persons who are associated with you. When police ask where you live, give your local project or Freedom House address, or if necessary your out-of-state home address.

VISITORS Find out who strangers are. If persons come into project offices to "look around," try to find out who they are and what exactly they want to know. All offers of help should be cleared through the project director.

RECORDS Any written record of any importance should have at least four copies. Keep original and send copies to (in case of Mississippi COFO project) Jackson, Greenwood, and Atlanta. Bear in mind that offices may be raided at any time. Keep a record of interference with phone lines, and of calls to the FBI. This information should go to hq.

GENERAL (a) People who do not adhere to disciplinary requirements will be asked to leave the project.

(b) Security is a matter of group responsibility. Each individual should take an interest in every other individual's safety, well-being, and discipline.

(c) At all times you should be aware of dangers to local inhabitants. White volunteers must be especially aware of this point.

TELEPHONE NUMBERS

MARTIN OPPENHEIMER is Assistant Director of the Studies Program, American Friends Service Committee, and will be Assistant Professor of Sociology at Haverford College during the 1964-65 school year. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on the Sit-In Movement and has had practical experience in direct action training with Philadelphia CORE.

GEORGE LAKEY is Executive Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee, and is the author of Nonviolent Action: How It Works (Pendle Hill, 1963). He wrote his Master's thesis in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania on the subject of nonviolence. Arrested during the Chester civil rights demonstration in April, 1964, he spent some time at Broadmeadows Prison.

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A WORD FROM BAYARD RUSTIN

At long last here is a much-needed practical training manual for nonviolent direct action. I am deeply grateful that these two young sociologist-activists have taken the time to produce this volume, particularly in this year when nonviolence is more and more under attack. The manual may not be perfect, but it will probably be the pioneering endeavor in this field for some years to come. It should be carefully studied by every activist in civil rights and related causes.

The volume should also be read by everyone interested in the real meaning of the current civil rights struggle. Here one can see unfolding within the context of training for action, the relationship of democracy and nonviolence to a truly human perspective for American society.

Bayard Rustin



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
August 7, 1964

Demonstrations, New York City, August 6,
1964, by American Friends Service Committee
and Other Pacifist Groups

On August 6, 1964, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed pacifist demonstrations held at Times Square and Washington Square, New York City, and a following "Memorial Walk" from Washington Square to the United Nations Plaza, 43rd Street and 1st Avenue, New York City.

The demonstration at Times Square, New York City, was an anti-war "vigil" in which 25 individuals participated from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. They displayed placards reading "End War in Vietnam", "No More Hiroshimas", and "A World Without War". There were no incidents or disturbances at this demonstration.

A leaflet which had been passed out at the above demonstration revealed that the following demonstration at Washington Square was sponsored by the following organizations:

American Friends Service Committee
2 West 20th Street, New York City

~~The Catholic Worker~~
~~175 Chrystie Street, New York City, N.Y.~~

~~Committee for Non-Violent Action~~
~~325 Lafayette Street, New York City, N.Y.~~

~~New York Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy~~
~~17 East 45th Street, New York City, N.Y.~~

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ENCLOSURE

Demonstrations, New York City, August 6,
1964, by American Friends Service Committee
and Other Pacifist Groups

~~New York Fellowship of Reconciliation~~
~~5 Beekman Street, New York City, N.Y.~~

~~Greenwich Village Peace Center~~
~~224 West 101st Street, New York City, N.Y.~~

~~Student Peace Union~~
~~5 Beekman Street, New York City, N.Y.~~

~~War Resisters League~~
~~5 Beekman Street, New York City, N.Y.~~

~~Women's International League for Peace and Freedom~~
~~37 Washington Square, New York City, N.Y.~~

~~Women Strike for Peace~~
~~154 East 50th Street, New York City, N.Y.~~

The following demonstration, which was held at Thompson Street and Washington Square South, New York City, was attended by approximately 500 individuals, and lasted from 5:30 p.m. to 6:45 p.m. There were no disturbances or incidents at this demonstration. Speakers at this demonstration were Bayard Rustin, I.F. Stone, Norman Thomas, Miyoko Matsubara, and Stephanie Kay, who was the Chairwoman.

The "New York Herald Tribune" issue of August 14, 1963, page 7, column 1, contains an article captioned "Thurmond Assails A Leader of March." The article stated that, in answer to charges by Senator Strom Thurmond, Bayard Rustin admitted joining the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936. Rustin also reportedly stated that he broke completely with the YCL in June, 1941.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Representations, New York City, August 6,
1957, by American Friends Service Committee
and Other Pacifist Groups

The "Daily Worker", an east coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1956, in its issue of February 25, 1957, page 1, column 1, contained an article which stated that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was one of eight non-Communist observers at the Communist Party National Convention in 1957.

Norman Thomas spoke concerning the United States policy in South Vietnam. He stated that the conflict in this country is a civil war and urged that the United States withdraw from this area. He stated that there is no democracy in South Vietnam, and that since recent history has proven that Communism usually follows in nations that have been in war, the anti-Communists should be anxious to get the United States out of this conflict so as to avoid a major war.

Demonstrations, New York City, August 6,
1964, by American Friends Service Committee
and Other Pacifist Groups

Bayard Rustin also urged that the United States remove its forces from South Vietnam, and stated that this is a civil war. He likened the problems of the people of Vietnam to those in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, and stated that the problem in Vietnam is that the people will no longer tolerate being without dignity and being poor. He also made references to brutality of the New York City police in the Negro situation and that their show of force in certain situations could easily cause a riot. He stated that on the date of the bombing of Hiroshima he was serving a prison sentence of three years at Lewisburg for refusing to participate in action such as this bombing. He urged those in the crowd to refuse to participate in future actions such as the bombing of Hiroshima.

Miyoko Matsubara, who was badly burned by the 1945 bomb explosion at Hiroshima, spoke in Japanese which was immediately translated, concerning some of her experiences in relation to the explosion.

During the demonstration a statement of Senator Wayne Morse which had been written for this demonstration was read. It stated in part that the present rulers of South Vietnam could not long continue the civil war unless the war were expanded.

The crowd was urged to send telegrams to Senator Morse thanking him for his opinions which he sent to this demonstration, and also telegrams were urged to be sent to other congressmen urging the United States withdraw from Vietnam.

Some of the signs observed at the above demonstrations had the following messages:

"Hiroshima Memorial 1964" - Student Peace Union

Demonstrations, New York City, August 6,
1964, by American Friends Service Committee
and Other Pacifist Groups

"Morse For President
Rustin For Vice-President"

"No More Hiroshima-End The War in Vietnam"

"Our Fight is Mississippi Not Vietnam"

"We Do Not Own Asia"

"Defend Freedom With Nonviolent Resistance"

After the above demonstration, The Student Peace Union in cooperation with the War Resisters League, Committee for Non-Violent Action, and The Catholic Worker had a "Memorial Walk", concerning which they urged others to attend, from Washington Square to the United Nations Plaza. The purpose was to help bring the message of Hiroshima to more New Yorkers. Approximately 100 individuals participated in this event. This group assembled at West 4th Street immediately at the end of the above demonstration and after a few prayers and songs proceeded to the United Nations Plaza where they arrived at 9:15 p.m. At the United Nations Plaza they again said a few prayers and sang some songs and adjourned at 9:30 p.m. No incidents or disturbances occurred at this walk.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

OCT 5 1964

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

[REDACTED] the American Friends Service Committee - Middle Atlantic Region (AFSC-MAR), Philadelphia, Pa., has announced that a series of Saturday Opinion Forums beginning Saturday, October 10, 1964, and described as "swinging new programs for high school students in the Philadelphia area," will be held from 9 a.m. to 5:15 p.m. at the Friends Select School, 17th and Parkway, Philadelphia, Pa., at a cost of \$1.50 each.

The following programs were listed:

October 10, 1964:

Subject: Vietnam: Case Study of U. S. Foreign Policy

Speakers: NORMAN THOMAS - Six-times Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Party
HAROLD SANDSTROM - Lecturer, St. Joseph College; Research Assistant, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania
DAVID ARNOLD - Director, Center for International Studies, Ohio University; Returns from month in Vietnam October 6, 1964. Resigned from U.S.I.A. in Vietnam protesting U. S. policies

100-11-3

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

November 21, 1964

Subject: Communism: Principle and Practice
Speakers: ARNOLD JOHNSON - Staff member, Communist Party of America, New York Headquarters
THOMAS WOOD, JR. - Board of Directors, Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System; lecturer on the challenges of Communism to Democracy
MARTIN OPPENHEIMER - Assistant Professor of Sociology, Haverford College. Former Assistant Director, AFSC Peace Studies Program

January 30, 1965

Subject: Information Analysis: Propaganda, The Press and You
Speakers: JAMES HIGGINS - Editor, "The Gazette and Daily," a "radical" paper out of York, Pa.
Other speakers representing various viewpoints will be announced.

February 20, 1965

Subject: Latin America: Dynamite on our Doorstep
Speakers: HERBERT SEIN - Mexican citizen. Has worked with International Labor Organization in Geneva and the AFSC in Latin America and the United Nations
Dr. ARTHUR P. WHITAKER - Professor, Latin American History, University of Pennsylvania. Former head, Latin American Unit, Division of Political Studies, of State Department
Other speakers to be announced.

March 13, 1965

Subject: Nonviolence in Today's World
Speakers: DR. NOEL BROWN - Political Affairs Officer, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, United Nations.
Other speakers, related to civil rights movement, will be announced.

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960 edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening In Cuba", placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Buch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 20, 1963 a second source advised that Vincent "Ted" Lee, FPCC National Office Director, was then formulating FPCC policy and had indicated that he had no intention of permitting FPCC policy to be determined by any other organization. This source stated that Lee believed that the FPCC should advocate resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and should support the right of Cubans to manage their revolution without interference from other nations. Lee did not advocate supporting the Cuban revolution per se.


The November 23, 1963 edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut had called FPCC "the chief public relations instrument of the Castro network in the United States." It is to be noted that Senator Dodd was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

(2)



The December 27, 1963 edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-Castro FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-Castro street rallies and mass picket lines, and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-Castro American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by Castro's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin Lee H. Oswald.

On April 13, 1964 a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved.



(1)

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH, YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

On October 26, 1956, a confidential source advised that the Young Socialist League (YSL) had recently formed a branch of the National YSL in Philadelphia, which branch held its first meeting in Philadelphia on October 7, 1956. On June 25, 1958 this source advised that the YSL still maintains a branch in Philadelphia.

This source on October 8, 1958 advised that the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL in September, 1958, had disbanded and merged with the Philadelphia Branch of the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL). The YPSL is publicly known as the Youth Affiliate of the Socialist Party, Socialist Democratic Federation.

[REDACTED]

SOCIALIST PARTY - SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION
(SP-SDF) and its affiliated youth group,
Young People's Socialist League (YPSL)

The Independent Socialist League (ISL), formerly designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450, and the Young Socialist League (YSL), dissolved and disbanded in 1958.

The Philadelphia Branch of the ISL and the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL also disbanded in December, 1958.

Many persons who formerly had been members of the ISL and the YSL joined the SP-SDF and its affiliated youth group, the YPSL.

The SP-SDF and the YPSL have not been designated by the Attorney General of the United States and are not known to be controlled or dominated by any subversive organization.

The ISL and YSL are characterized separately.

(1)

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA

"The Columbia Owl", weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York City, December 12, 1962 issue, page one, contained an article entitled, "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays." This article stated in part that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was formed October 14, 1962 by a group of students from New York City universities, the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College and the University of North Carolina, who stated that as students they would like a chance to see and evaluate the situation in Cuba for themselves and had received an offer of transportation and two weeks stay in Cuba from the Federation of University Students in Havana, as guests of the Federation. The Committee accepted the offer and applied to the United States State Department for passport validation which was refused; however, over fifty students planned to defy the State Department ban and go to Cuba.

A source advised on December 6, 1962 that during December, 1962, it was learned that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had recently been formed by the Progressive Labor Group.

A second source advised on September 13, 1963 that a group of 59 individuals who had assembled in New York City, departed New York City by air on June 25, 1963 and traveled to Paris, France; Prague, Czechoslovakia; and then to Havana, Cuba. The group remained in Cuba until August 24, 1963, at which time they departed by air for New York City via Madrid, Spain. The group arrived in New York City on August 29, 1963.

The same source advised that the leaders of the group were members of Progressive Labor and the trip was planned and organized by Progressive Labor members.

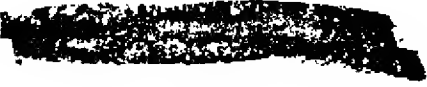
"The Columbia Owl", March 11, 1964 issue, page one, carried an article captioned, "Another Visit to Cuba Students Will Defy Student Travel Ban This Summer." This article sets forth in part that three members of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba spoke at an assembly sponsored by the Progressive Labor Club of Columbia University. At this assembly VICKI ORTIZ, Student Committee for Travel to Cuba campus representative, stated that the Federation of University Students in Havana had extended another invitation for 500 students to visit Cuba in 1964. Miss ORTIZ stated that the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was, therefore, planning another trip to Cuba in July, 1964.

(2)



A third source advised on February 6, 1964 that he had received information that the name of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was changed to the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, in February, 1963. After the group arrived back in the United States from Cuba, in the latter part of August, 1963, the name of the organization was changed to the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

A fourth source advised on October 9, 1963 that the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was utilizing Post Office Box 2178, New York 1, New York, as its mailing address.



~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)

The March 1, 1954, issue of the "Young Socialist Challenge," published as page three of "Labor Action," an official publication of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), contained an article concerning the creation of the YSL, which pointed out that at a unity conference occurring February 12-14, 1954, at Labor Action Hall, New York, New York, a merger occurred between the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) and the Socialist Youth League (SYL). The new organization was named the YSL.

On April 9, 1956, another confidential informant advised as follows:

The YSL has frequently worked in close sympathetic cooperation with the ISL toward similar objectives, although each major issue given mutual consideration is decided upon by these organizations individually. The YSL serves as an apprenticeship for the ISL, but ISL selection of members from YSL ranks is made on an individual and personal basis. In many instances YSL members are also members of the ISL.

The YSL and ISL utilize the same printing house in New York City and the YSL publication is printed as an insert in "Labor Action." Frequently, lecturers before the YSL are ISL members.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

[REDACTED]

The September 22, 1958, issue of "Young Socialist Challenge," which appeared as page five of "Labor Action," contained an undated statement from the National Action Committee of the YSL which indicated that the YSL had been dissolved. The statement appeared under the caption "Join the Young Peoples Socialist League."

The YPSL is publicly known as the youth affiliate of the Socialist Party - Socialist Democratic Federation.

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